

**Influence of familial, societal, organizational and
personal factors on women's career advancement to
senior management position in the universities of
Pakistan**

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DECLARATION AND WORD COUNT

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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ABSTRACT

This research has sought to contribute to the literature to the understanding of the factors influencing women's career progression in higher education management through in depth, semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion conducted with 48 women working in junior, and senior level management positions in the universities of Pakistan. Addressing the first research question to better understand current gendered based distribution of management positions in the sampled universities, a quantitative survey was conducted. The research questions 2, 3 and 4 addressed the following three areas sequentially: first, the constraints faced by participants at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels; second, the supportive factors experienced by the participants at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels; and finally, Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan? The aim of the focus group discussion was to extract some further qualitative information from a group of six participants working in one of the universities and to investigate whether participants had similar experiences.

For the analysis of quantitative data the advanced charting and graphing features in Microsoft Office Word and Excel were used to develop basic table, graph, and chart structures to display the frequency count. For the qualitative data the inductive coding and thematic analysis was utilized searching for patterns and themes. The analysis of quantitative data revealed the dearth of women in senior management positions. The analysis of qualitative data provided an unprecedented and comprehensive view of the complex, contradictory, and multifaceted dimensions of distinctive factors influencing women's career progression in senior management positions. The participants – both junior and seniors – informed about the hurdles they had faced when they got appointed or when they had moved into senior roles, as well as what kinds of help and support they had received for their career progression.

It was expected that knowledge based on participant's perceptions of the difficulties and social support and the strategies they exercised for facilitating the work-family interface, hopefully, will bring their insights to a wider audience. Such knowledge would support the management of women's human resources and their management careers in the cultural specific context and might emerge as a strong strategy for policy makers for countering the issue of the dearth of women in senior management positions.

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MY ALLAH ALMIGHTY
ALHAMDULILLAH
FOR YOUR COUNTLESS BLESSINGS
YOU HAVE GIVEN ME AND CONTINUES TO GIVE.
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(AMIN)

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides a brief background for the study. This includes a brief account of the continuing under-representation of women in senior management positions as well as their enrollment in tertiary education and work in academia from both local and global perspectives. This section sets the context for the study. The second section explores the religious, social, and cultural aspects of Pakistani society that shape the status of women. It also includes the Government of Pakistan's (GOP) initiatives towards improving women's participation in general and higher education in particular. Section three discusses the rationale of the study, and gaps in the existing literature. It also documents the objectives and the significance of the study. Finally, it presents the research questions which have guided the research and analysis. This is followed by an outline of the thesis structure.

1.2 Background of the study

It is widely recognized that very few women succeed in top management positions (Catalyst, 2013) despite having made great progress in the workforce (Bagilhole and White, 2011; Coleman, 2011) and having increased their enrollment in higher education (Nidiffer, 2010; Morley, 2013). Most countries still do not have strong representation of women in senior management positions (Cross, and Linehan, 2006; Schipani et al., 2006; Bagihole, 2009; Konrad et al., 2008).

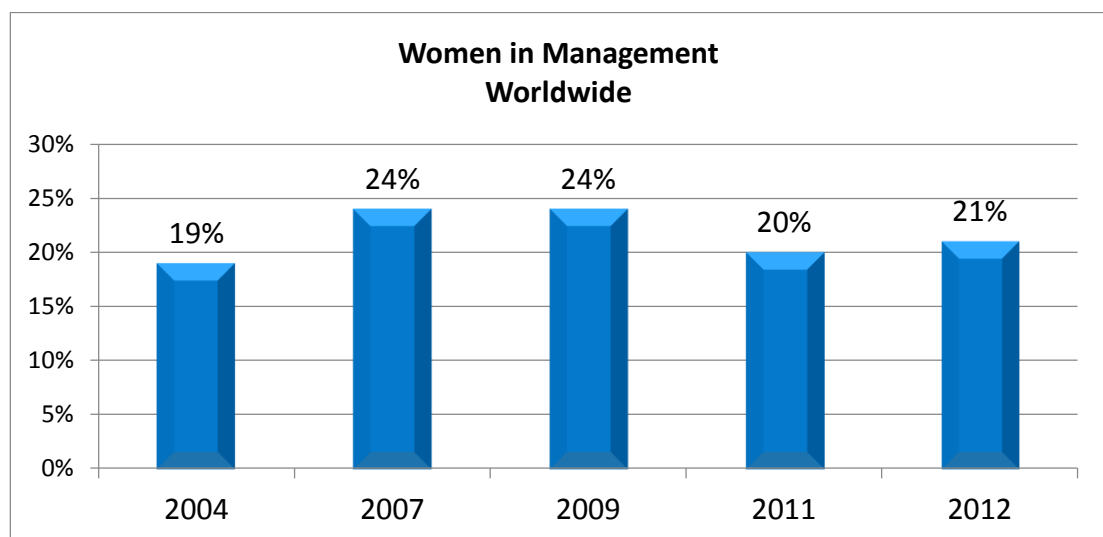
In some countries there has been an increase in the participation rates of women in managerial and professional jobs (Global Gender Gap Report 2012)¹. UNESCO (2010) noted an increase from 10.8 to 77.4 million over a 38 year period from 1970 – 2008. This improvement was significant in Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Israel (She Figures, 2009), where women and men benefit from equal opportunities, privileges and responsibilities in all parts of life (Ibid). However, there are still areas in need of further enhancement (Global Gender Gap Report 2012). According to Catalyst, in 2013, the number of women holding the role of chief financial officer in companies had increased

¹ ¹The Global Gender Gap Report, introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006, provides a framework for capturing the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities around the world.

a little since 2012 and more female executives were in top management roles. However, 90 percent of all chief financial officers were still men.

Davidson and Burke (2004) provided a cross-cultural review of research on women in management and demonstrated that the proportion of women entering higher education had continued to rise in most countries. It currently is equivalent to or exceeds that of men in most countries (for example see appendices 1A for details about Asia-Pacific, European Union, and the United Kingdom respectively). Women are also increasingly obtaining the necessary experience for advancement (Morley, 2013). However, despite these enormously positive changes for women at work, the number of women in senior leadership positions is not compatible with the number of women students and still falls short in the very highest positions (Madsen, 2012; Adler and Izraeli, 1988; Wirth, 2001; Davidson and Burke, 2004). In addition, the pace of advancement continues to be slow and uneven between different countries and cultures (Burke, 2007; Barreto, Ryan and Schmitt, 2009; Burke, 2009; Helfat et al., 2006; Tarr-Whelan, 2009; Morley, 2009, 2013; Bagihole, 2009; Cross and Linehan, 2006). Countries are not realizing the maximum potential of their women managers (Wirth, 2001). Women generally make progress to lower-management positions (Madsen, 2012; Burke and Davidson, 2004) but these do not have great power (Nidiffer, 2010; Holden and McCarthy, 2007). Morley (2013) suggests that in the case of Higher Education the female workforce is also under-utilized. Figure 1.1 charts the overall proportion of women in top jobs around the world (for further review see appendices1B).

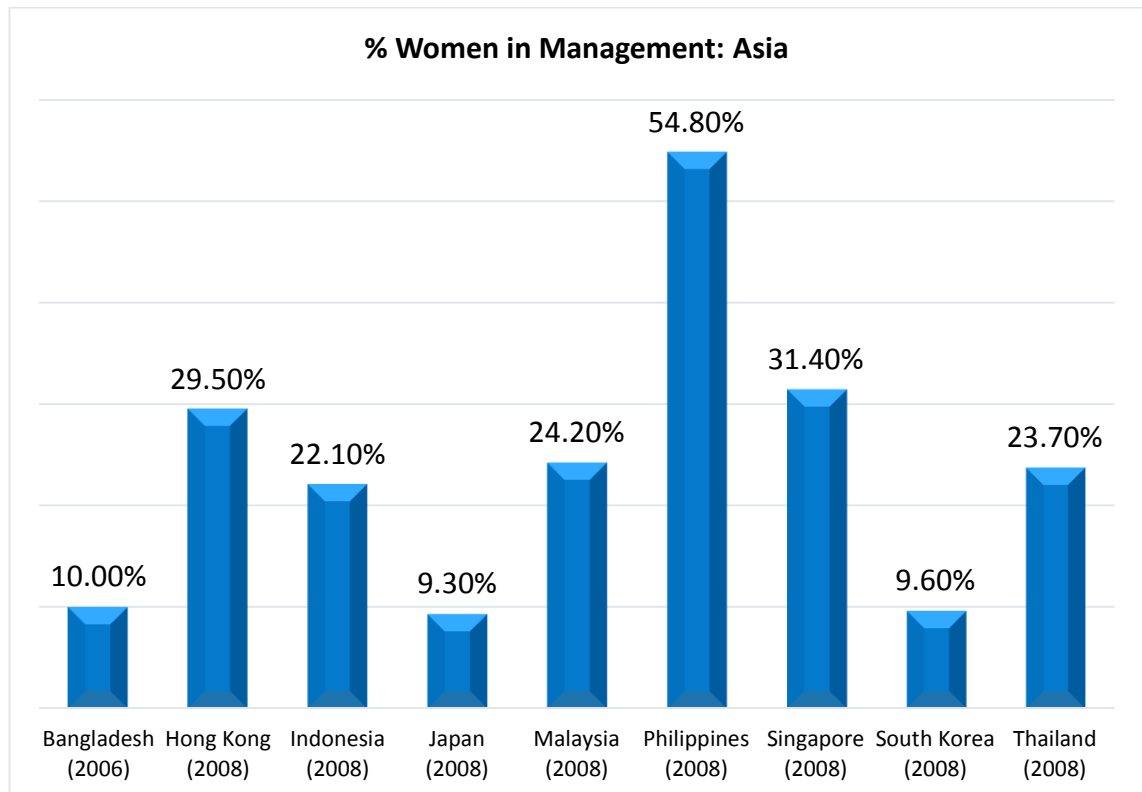
Figure 1.1 Proportion of women in senior management positions worldwide by year



Source: Grant Thornton International Business Report 2012 (IBR)

Alongside the changes in developed countries, women's participation in the labor force has increased over the past two decades in most Asian countries (Yukongdi and Benson 2005). The reason for this might be the rapid growth of the Asian economies which has had some impact on women's promotion to management and their progress in this role (Ibid), although they still hold relatively few management positions (See figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 Women in Management in Asian countries

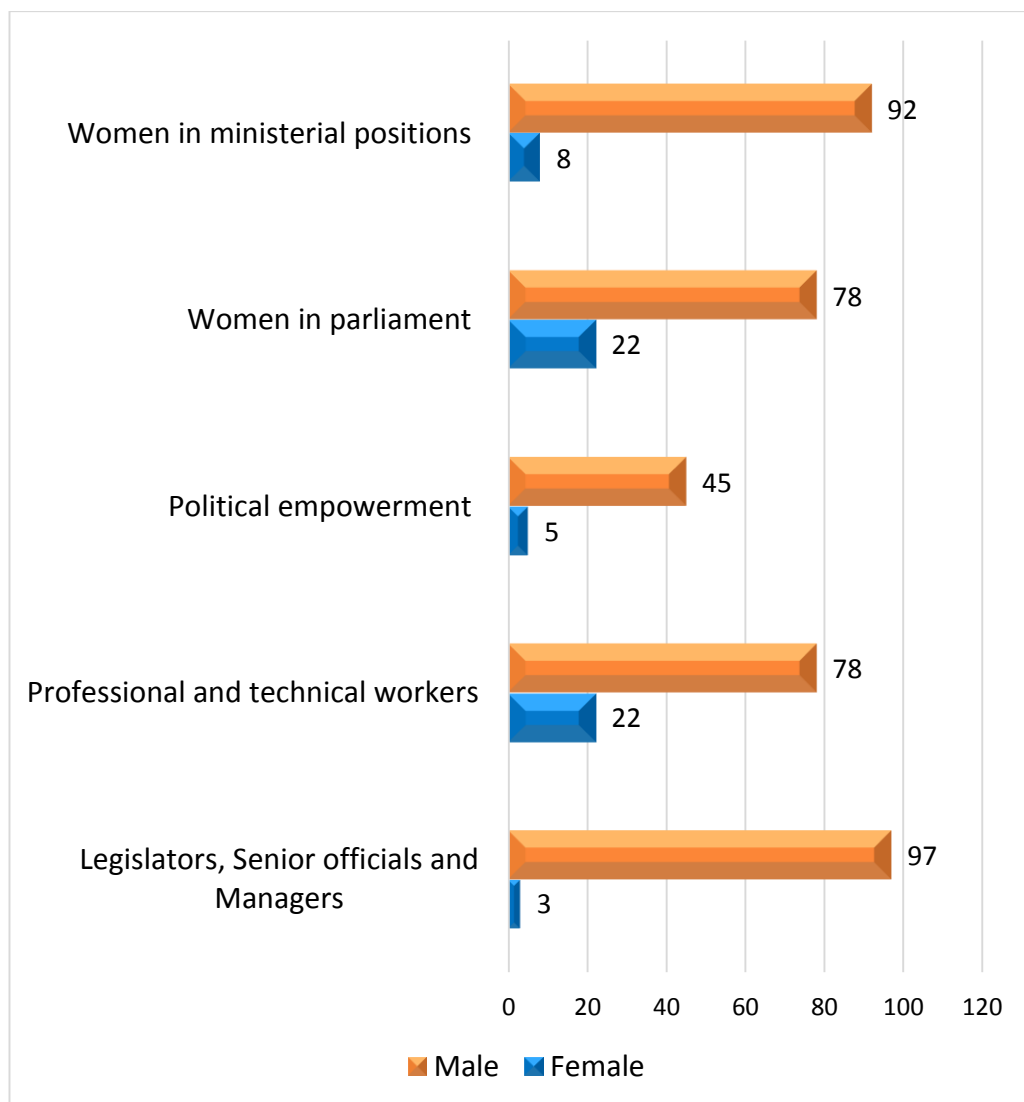


Source: Catalyst (2010)

Similarly to other countries, in Pakistan women hold very few senior management positions (Shah and Shah, 2012; Mirza and Jabeen, 2011). Comparatively, women's share of professional jobs has increased but they are concentrated mainly in traditional occupations, such as education and health. (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010). Women have made less progress in legal, political, economic, and administrative and decision making positions (Ibid). The first report of the National Commission on the Status of Women (2003) regarding the positions of women in public sector employment stated that out of a total of 175,189 employees in the Federal Government 9,387 were women and of these a mere 1,898 were in the officer category. According to the Federal Bureau of Statistics (2011) Pakistani women's share of senior management positions was only 21.17 percent

with a small proportion in top leadership positions. The Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2011) of South Asia which included Pakistan also revealed a disappointing picture of gender inequalities for women as compared to men on all indicators of human development and empowerment, including employment and representation in political and administrative positions. Figure 1.3 sets out the overall most recent gender gap in positions of power in Pakistan.

Figure 1.3 Gender Gap in Political and Administrative Positions in Pakistan



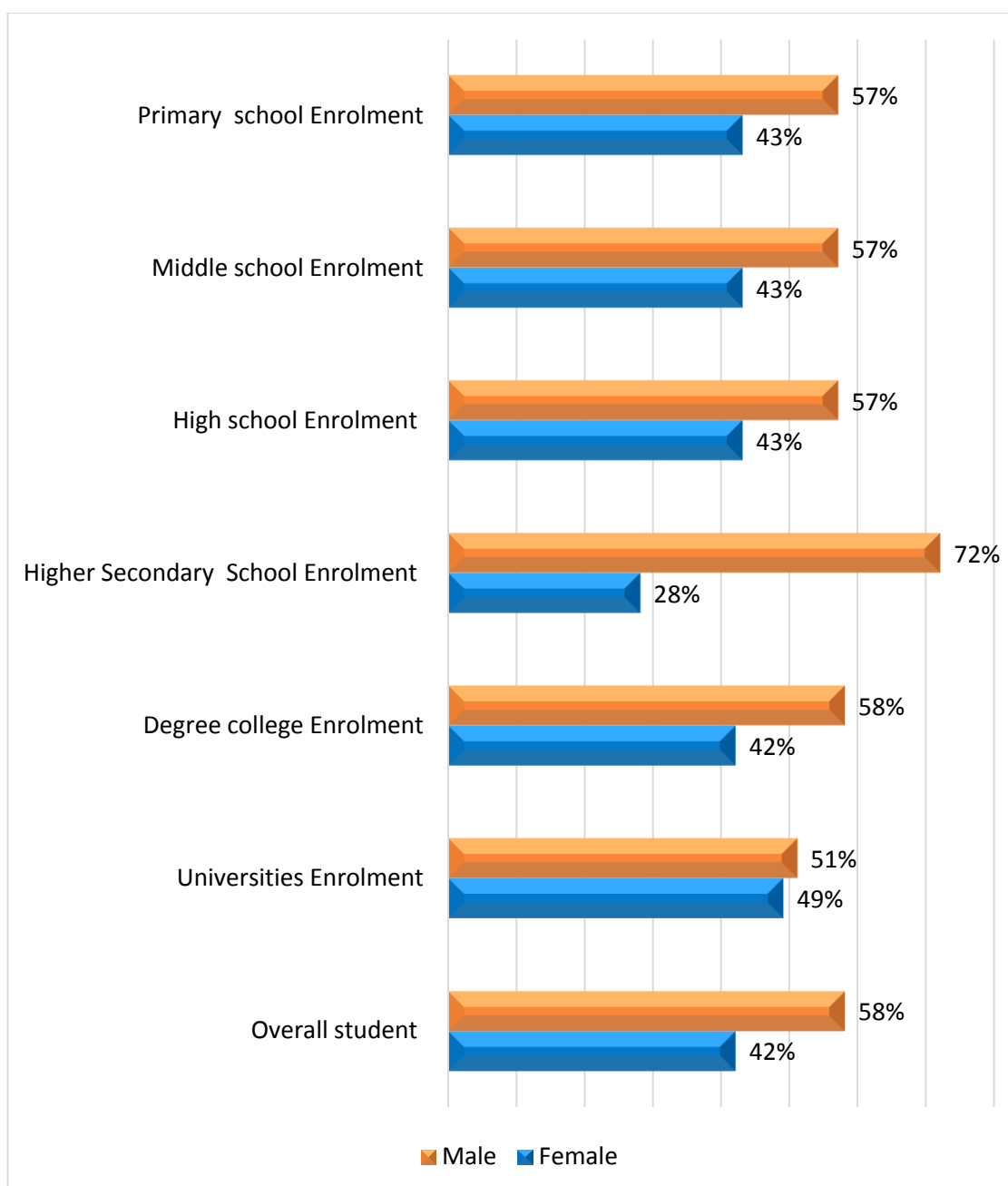
Source: Extract from Global Gender Gap Report 2011 by World Economic Forum 2012

Overall, there are limited statistics on women's role in higher education management worldwide (Singh, 2008; Blandford, et al., 2011). In the Pakistani context a holistic picture of the proportion of women in senior management positions is simply missing.

There is a single piece of research by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) which documented the underrepresentation of women in senior management positions (ACU, 2002). The Academy of Educational Planning and Management (AEPAM) prepares and analyzes national education data regularly on a yearly basis (AEPAM, 2013), but the statistics about management staff serving in different sectors of education and in different provinces and regions are not included in such reports. Thus, there is no one official document that gives a comprehensive picture of the number of women in educational leadership and management. Shakeshaft (2006) asserts that the lack of documentation on the gender based proportion of management positions reflects the lack of importance attached to this issue and the value placed on such data by governments worldwide.

Despite this, generally, the female literacy rate has increased during the last decade in Pakistan. The overall literacy rate is 59.8 percent, 71.1 percent for males and 48.1 percent for females (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Even though the female literacy rate has increased during the last decade, the comparatively low level reflects an unfavourable set of circumstances faced by women compared to men. The Pakistan Education Statistic Report, 2011-12 highlights the basic educational statistics of all sectors of education in the country. Figure 1.4 provides a gender based comparison of enrolment from primary to university level.

Figure 1.4 Gender wise enrollment from primary to university level in Pakistan



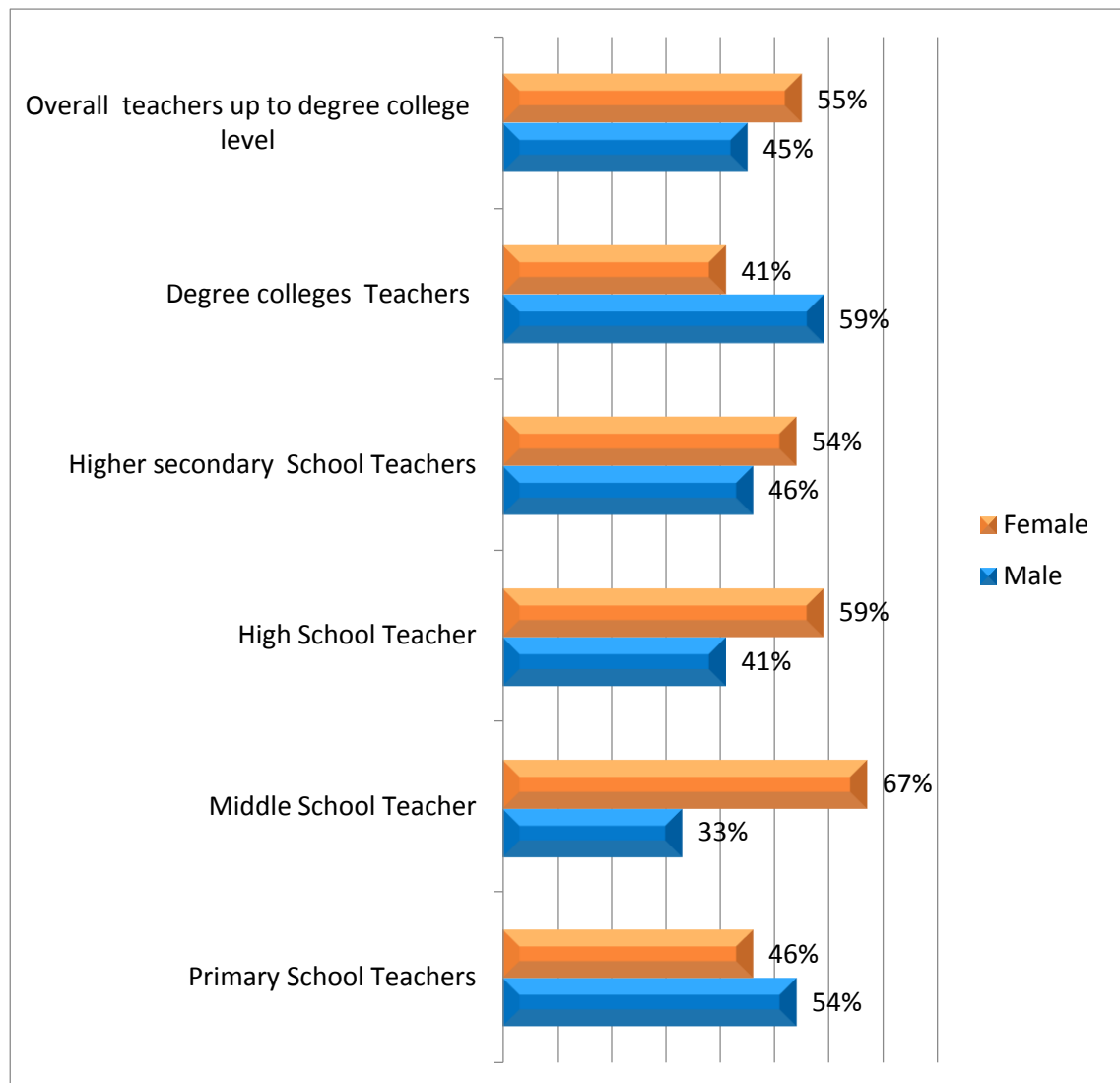
Source: AEPAM, 2013

Figure 1.4 indicates that the female enrolment rate at primary, middle, and high school is less than that of males and at higher secondary school enrolment has shown a substantial decrease. It appears that girl students who enter the secondary stage of education are unable to complete their education (AEPAM, 2013). There is a tendency for girls to drop out at the higher secondary level. However, the overall percentage of female enrolment

reveals that the women of Pakistan are involved in education activities more or less at each and every level of education. At the tertiary level of education there are slightly fewer women than men (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010) with the proportion enrolled in university at 49 percent a little behind that of men (51%), a fairly equal balance as elsewhere in the world (Morley, 2013).

The issue is that the proportion of women in management positions does not match the proportions with higher education qualifications as is observed in all developed countries (Adler and Izraeli, 1988; Davidson and Burke, 2004; Wirth, 2001). For women who have a higher degree their career paths quickly take another turn, they mostly follow a teaching career rather than a management career as is the case elsewhere (Burke and Mattis, 2005; Burke and Nelson, 2002). Generally, the teaching profession is dominated by women (Shah and Shah, 2012) as it is globally (Cubillo and Brown, 2003; Shakeshaft, 2006). The most recent available figures (AEPAM 2013) indicate that there is a gender difference in relation to teaching roles which also varies between institutions. Although, the level fluctuates, overall teaching is dominated by the women up to degree level, 55 percent of teachers are female as compared to 45 percent of their male counterparts. (See Figure 1.5)

Figure 1.5 Gender distributions of teachers in Pakistan



Source: AEPAM, 2013

Despite the large number of women in the teaching profession, they are greatly under-represented in senior management positions. This continues to be a matter of great concern.

Regarding this issue, Davidson and Burke, (2011. p.11) suggest that despite the introduction of some initiatives the pace of change and improvement is slow. “Women still face discrimination and gender, ethnic, cultural and religious stereotyping; there is continuing male domination at senior-management and corporate board levels”. So when considering the status of women in management positions, it is important to recognize

their position from religious as well as social and cultural perspectives (Shah and Shah, 2012).

1.3 Religious perspectives regarding Pakistani women

As far as religious views regarding Pakistani women are concerned, women's rights are protected under Islamic law (Chishti, 2003; Shah, 2006). More than 1400 years ago Islam introduced women's rights through the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) (Chishti, 2003). The Qur'an explicitly confirms that woman is completely equal with man to Allah in terms of her rights, responsibilities and in receiving rewards for her deeds (Shabana, 2007).

Accordingly, in Pakistan there is no Islamic or state law that prohibits women from being educated or seeking the highest academic degrees that they desire (Haleem, 2007; Hussain, 1987). Islam does not restrict their participation in society or in employment (Ahmad, 2003; Haleem, 2007; Hussain, 1987). The history of Islam suggests that Muslim women participated in all walks of life from as early as the seventh century (Hassan, 2004; Ghadanfar, 2001) (for details see chapter 3 literature review).

1.4 Societal and cultural perspectives regarding Pakistani women

There is significant diversity in the status of women within the social order in Pakistan (Shaheen, 2000) as the traditional and patriarchal society embraces a range of diverse attitudes (ADB, 2000). Generally, society reflects stereotypical gender roles and expectations (Klein and Nestvogel, 1992; Ibraiz, 1993) and the fundamental rights of women are ignored due to ignorance of the true teachings of the Qur'an (Shah and Shah, 2012). Male dominant structures are more marked in the rural areas and tribal settings including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa², Baluchistan and Rural Sindh (Mohanti 1997) where local customs and traditions have established male authority and power over women (Shaheen, 2000: ADB, 2000), and gender development initiatives are overlooked and constitutional provisions for gender equality are ignored (Jabeen and Iqbal 2010;

²Previously known as North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

Shaheen, 2000). This leads to the dependency of women on men and reinforces the persistence of a male oriented patriarchal culture (Shah and Shah, 2012).

With reference to contemporary societal attitudes towards education, Lall (2009) observes changing attitudes with regard to girls' education and argues that “the traditional cultural heritage of a traditional Muslim society is no longer the constraint for girl’s education as it was previously”. Lall (2009) also challenges “the established wisdom that poorer families prefer to educate boys rather than girls” and argues that some structural changes across Pakistani society have taken place and the importance of girls’ education seems now to be accepted. In rural areas, parents are sending their girls to school and gross enrolment rate has increased (Ibid). However inconsistencies in literacy and educational attainment between genders cannot be denied (FBS, 2011). Particularly in suburban areas, gender disparity still exists (Murtaza, 2012). Comparatively, women belonging to the upper and middle classes in urban areas have increasingly greater access to education and employment opportunities and have greater control over their lives (Khan, 2007).

However, the inequality in women’s status and rights at all levels of society remains a matter of concern in Pakistan (Shaheen, 2000; Saeed, 2004). There are not only cultural factors but also institutional barriers involved. Conflicting modern and traditional values coexist, making women’s roles complicated and precarious (HEC, 2005).

1.5 Public policies for women in Pakistan

Taking account of the teaching of Islam, the Constitution of Pakistan (Khan, 1973) under Articles 25, 27, 34, 35 and 37 defines and recognizes the rights of Pakistani women and states that all citizens are equal irrespective of religion, caste or sex. The constitution confers equal opportunities to women and men regarding their right to vote and to contest in polls. It also empowers the state to make special provision for the protection of women and children (GOP, 2010) (see Appendix 1.C for the relevant extract from the Constitution of Pakistan). The Constitution affirms that education is a fundamental human right and that every child is entitled to it. It affirms steps to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of life (Ibid). Since 1973, overall participation in education has increased significantly although the pace of change has been slow particularly for women (Qureshi and Rarieya, 2007).

The Pakistani Government has shown some commitment to improving the situation for women and a few initiatives have been developed (MOWD, 2011) GOP is signatory to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UN, 1979). The millennium development goals (UNDP, 2000), which Pakistan has signed up to, aim to remove gender inequality in education by 2015. Specific institutions have been set up to deal with gender and social development issues such as: the Ministry of Women's Development (MOWD) at the federal level; Women's Development Departments (WDDs) at the provincial level i.e. Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir³ and; the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) at a national level (MOL, 2009). Included in the objectives of these institutions are “the formulation of public policies and laws to meet the special needs of women to undertake and promote research on their condition and problems to ensure that women's interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy and to ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment” (MOWD, 2011). However, these measures have not been entirely successful (Qureshi, 2003) as “WDDs do not have a mandate for gender policy, lack constitutional and legal status, have weak organizational structures, lack planning and support structures, with no responsibility and accountability”(NCSW, 2012, p.2)

The commitment of the Government of Pakistan to support women's education and professional development is reflected in the following statement by the chairman of HEC. At a recent speech while presiding over a meeting at the Government College Women's University, Sialkot, he showed GOP's strong support for women and the potential to bring about an increase in women's enrollment in higher education:

“Priority has been given to such development projects, which have been helpful in increasing women's enrolment in the higher education sector of the country who are the future leaders of an educated, enlightened and prosperous Pakistan. Women's enrolment in higher education has increased from 36 percent to 47 percent within last few years as an outcome of the HEC reforms. Female researchers or faculty members are being encouraged to avail themselves of HEC programs such as scholarships, research and travel grants and attending conferences”.
(The Nation August 26, 2013)

³ A self-governing territory controlled by Pakistan

Over the last few years, the Government of Pakistan has also increased the higher education budget. The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC), since its establishment in 2001, has developed various initiatives aimed at reforming the higher education sector, ranging from human resource development to structural changes in governance and management of higher educational institutions. Important projects include capacity building of faculty, development of the higher education infrastructure, the award of indigenous and foreign scholarships, the promotion of a research culture, and bringing in technological reforms (HEC, 2010). As a result of the various initiatives girls' and women's access to educational opportunities continues to improve at all levels of the Pakistani education system, from elementary and secondary school through college and universities as the GOP is committed to promoting female education and special attention is being paid to strengthen women's education (HEC, 2010). Access to higher education is now more available for girls who live in rural areas or in towns with the increase of women's colleges or universities. Since the inception of HEC, new women's universities have been established in different parts of Pakistan (HEC, 2013). The Government claims that women's universities are playing a vital role in the education of female professionals (Ibid).

However, despite GOP's measures to raise women's status, the reality is that women and men do not have equal opportunities in terms of higher education, hence, women do not benefit equitably from all of the opportunities available. Disparities also exist in literacy and educational attainment between rural and urban areas and between the provinces (FBS, 2011). Women have significantly fewer opportunities for higher education professional development. Recently, under the HEC overseas scholarship scheme, by 2011 thousands of scholars had been sent abroad under various programs for MSc, PhD and Post-doctoral research. In addition to HRD overseas scholarship schemes, HEC has also launched a number of indigenous scholarship schemes for PhD studies in all disciplines. By June 2011 the following proportions (see Table 1.1) had completed their higher education studies from foreign universities as well as from the universities of Pakistan (HEC Annual Report 2011).

Table 1.1 Total PhDs completed by June 2011 by gender

Category	Male	Female
PhD Completed under Overseas Scholarship Schemes	689	86
PhD Completed under HRD Indigenous Scholarship	569	126
Total	1258	212

Source: HEC Annual Report 2011

As set out in Table 1.1 the percentage of women who were granted scholarships was significantly lower than men. Davidson and Burke, (2011) found huge inconsistencies between nations in developing policies and programs to support women's career advancement. Hassan (1995) argues that culture and traditions slow down policies and programs designed to bring more women into the public sphere. Stereotypical views of gender roles still tend to influence policy and practice on women in Higher Education (HE) and employment in Pakistan (Mirza and Jabeen, 2011).

To summarise, due to the Government of Pakistan's commitment and comparatively better allocation of budgets in the education sector, women now hold some positions in the management of higher education. The attainment of economic independence for women has emerged as a strong motivating factor for participating in higher education (Malik and Courtney, 2010). Women have been moving steadily into occupations, professions, and managerial jobs previously reserved for men (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2011). Nevertheless, their representation is extremely small in senior management positions as compared to that of men. Generally, they hold less than 10 percent of academic and administrative posts in higher education institutions (ACU, 2002). They hold a comparatively higher percentage of management positions in Pakistan in 'women only'

institutions (Shah and Shah, 2012). Nevertheless, in a context where management jobs are open to men and women, women are in extremely low numbers (Ibid). Women are best represented in women's schools and colleges. In mixed universities, women deans and professors are a minority group and women vice-chancellors and presidents are still a rarity (ACU, 2002). Overall, women are largely underrepresented in senior management positions (Ibid).

1.6 Rational and significance of the study

The overall statistics suggest that underrepresentation of women in senior management positions is a global phenomenon (Catalyst, 2013). This has generated international attention with a recognition that “neither institutions nor the countries in which they are located can afford to overlook women's management abilities and leadership potential” (Remsay, 2000:1). Fuller (2013) in her book *Gender, Identity and Educational leadership* asserts that ‘unless individual and group interest are recognized there is unlikely to be representation in the leadership discourse’ (p.1). Lumby (2013) suggests that ‘gender inequalities in educational administration attract calls for research internationally.’

As far as the status of Pakistani women is concerned, there are some positive aspects as the literature suggests that, from the Islamic perspective, the woman is acknowledged as an independent individual and her human nature is neither inferior to nor deviant from that of man. Female empowerment has been given significant importance by the Government of Pakistan and it has made efforts towards the political, economic, and social development of women. Due to the positive changes in girls' education, the female literacy rate has increased during the last decade. Women's participation in higher education has also substantially increased. Generally, women have achieved a satisfactory presence in teaching roles. However, regardless of all of the above, there is a lack of women in senior management positions in higher education. The numbers are unequal to those of men and despite the government's efforts towards opening up more and more opportunities for women, gender discrimination remains a reality with wide inequalities (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010; Mirza and Jabeen, 2011).

This inequality raises many questions and has led me to undertake this in-depth study on the factors influencing women's career progression to senior management positions in higher education. The research reported here has attempted to explore possible

contributing factors at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels using a self-developed indigenous framework - an integrated theoretical model of women's career progression.

From the Pakistani perspective, Jabeen and Jadoon (2008) suggest that although the awareness of women's abilities, rights and status pervades popular consciousness more or less in all parts of Pakistan, traditional cultural values and societal norms that assign women domestic roles are not compatible with them holding professional roles (Jabeen and Jadoon, 2008; Mirza and Jabeen 2011). These cultural norms are reflected in organizational and family practices and constrain women's participation in every field of life (Shah and Shah, 2010). Overall, disparity between men and women prevails in terms of recruitment to senior managerial posts, staff training and promotion to the next highest grade (ACU, 2002). Isobel (2004) also suggests that Pakistani women face diverse administrative and social challenges in their quest towards attaining executive positions. She adds that in order to significantly improve female labor force participation rates, Pakistan will have to address a range of structural barriers and social constraints.

Considering the issues, empirical research focused on women's management positions, especially those with dual responsibilities, is an area worthy of continued research (Airini et al., 2011). Many have emphasized the importance of understanding the barriers that women face in their attempts to achieve the highest levels in organizations (Madsen, 2012; Cubillo and Brown, 2003; Coleman, 2011; Moorosi, 2010; Morley, 2007; Nidiffer, 2010). Some research has been undertaken in different cultural contexts. Brown and Ralph (1996) explained women's lack of advancement in educational management on a sample of Ugandan Women. Celikten (2005) explored the barriers women face as principals in Turkey; Cubillo and Brown (2003) and Fuller, (2013) examined the barriers faced by women seeking to reach educational leadership in the UK; Kim and Kim (2005) investigated the problem among school administrators in South Korea; Morriss (1999) documented the experience of women principals in Trinidad and Tobago; and Morriss, Tin and Coleman (1999) studied how female secondary school principals perceived their leadership styles in Singapore. Lumby and Cristina (2014) explored 'how gender and other related factors such as language, culture, religion and ethnicity positively or negatively influenced women's access to the leadership role and experiences in South Africa.

Most of the research studies to date have raised the issue of women's participation in different corporate sectors, not in higher education. For example Bauer, and Tremblay (2011) discussed the lack of involvement of women in relation to political executive power, Jalalzai (2013) in her book "Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact?" shed light on the many obstacles in women's pursuit of national executive office, while Campbell (2009) talked about what minority women said about their career success in different career fields. Davidson and Burke (2011) provided a cross-cultural assessment of women in management globally and detailed facts and figures of women working in different organizations, while Blair-Loy (2003) examined the career paths of female financial executives who had tried various approaches to balancing career and family. Gorgan and Shakeshaft (2011) shed light on women's way of leading. Coleman (2011) interviewed 60 top women from a range of professions in both public and private sectors and other studies have focused on other groups (Kaufmann, 2008; Pamela, 2013, Ruminski and Holba, 2012). However, women's underrepresentation in higher education management has hardly been considered.

In some research (for example; Hoobler et al., 2011; Littlewood, 2004; Korabik, 2005; Burke, 2007; Broadbridge, 2008; Bagilhole, 2009; Aycan, 2008) work-family conflict has been associated with women's underrepresentation in the workforce in general and identified and analyzed in much research adopting different perspectives and dimensions. The research has tended to revolve around a few recurring variables such as work and family involvement, work and family stress, job and life satisfaction, social support, and work turnover.

Above all, most of the research has been conducted in western settings. Relatively little research has been attempted in Asian countries (ILO, 2010; Morley, 2005). Most is quantitative not qualitative and 'such studies raise numerous methodological and substantive issues' (Lumby, 2011). This is particularly the case in the Pakistani context. There have been a few in-depth qualitative studies on women and management, for example Jabeen (1999) conducted an in-depth study aiming to explore factors affecting the career advancement of women in the federal civil service of Pakistan. In relation to higher education, there is some research, for instance, Shah and Shah (2012) in a qualitative study concerning women, educational leadership and societal culture revealed that multiple societal norms embedded in Pakistani society had deep repercussions for

women's senior management roles. In 2010, Rab explored the perceptions of successful women in academia in relation to their career development and concluded that women needed support from both the home and the workplace to move ahead. Kirk (2004) also explored the lived experience of women teachers in Karachi. Despite this research, there is a perceived need to explore the issues relating to women working in higher education management (Shah and Shah, 2012; Noor, 2004). Further, there is no research which helps to explain why some women are successful and others are not (Coleman, 2000).

As a member of a higher education management team and Pakistani culture myself, I felt the need to explore and understand the familial, societal, organizational as well as personal factors that supported or hindered executive women's career progression within higher education in Pakistan. This study is unique as it is entirely focused on women in higher education and management. Researchers have also rarely considered the issues faced by women working in management at different levels. The women in the sample researched here were all to a greater or lesser extent engaged in a struggle with their career development in a university. The current study was designed to build on the existing research and adopted a multifaceted perspective to explore those factors contributing to success and those acting as barriers to women's advancement to senior management positions.

As the research was being undertaken in Pakistan it provided an opportunity for the exploration of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors influencing women's management career progression within a developing, cultural and Islamic context. Existing findings acknowledge the dissimilarities between developing and developed countries in terms of cultural and social contexts and differences in terms of culture, political systems, economy and religion (Oplatka, 2006). The current study provides an opportunity to extend this work.

1.7 Objectives of the study

The study aimed to explore the under-representation of women in senior management and leadership roles within the universities of Pakistan and endeavored:

- a. To identify familial, societal, organizational and personal constraints and barriers to the appointment of women to senior management positions;
- b. To identify familial, societal, organizational and personal supportive factors.

The further aim once the research was complete was to disseminate the findings with a view to bringing about change within institutions and develop aspirations, and boost women's confidence to be able to apply for senior management positions with a realistic prospect of success.

1.8 Research Questions

To achieve the above aims the specific research questions in support of this inquiry were:

- Q. 1. What is the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities of the women participating in the research?
- Q. 2. What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational, and personal levels to their advancement to senior management positions?
- Q. 3. What factors support women's advancement to senior management positions at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels?
- Q. 4. Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan?

In addressing these questions, the study explored the issues within the home, society, universities, employment structures, family structures, and access to opportunities for support and development. However, since the study was exploratory, it began with asking broad and open-ended questions and allowed themes to emerge from the data.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

To consider the research questions, the remainder of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The literature review which comprises three sections, starts with a brief account of the status and position of Muslim women from a religious perspective followed by a comprehensive analysis of the sources of the constraints on women drawing upon existing research on potential barriers to women's career progression in senior management positions and the moderating effects of different supportive factors in this regard. Then it critically reviews and evaluates relevant models and theories developed over recent years, which incorporate variables that have been shown to influence women's career development. The significance of the models for the study will be considered in addition to the gaps in knowledge which this study intends to address.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology

This chapter begins with a discussion of theoretical perspectives and the research paradigm for the study. It gives an account of the methodology, and methods chosen for data gathering, the analysis and interpretation of the data and the reasons behind these choices followed by an outline of the sample and its socio-demographic characteristics. The chapter includes a discussion on important ethical considerations and concludes with a discussion of validity and reliability.

Chapter 4 Quantitative data analysis and demographics of the sample

Chapter 4 is divided into two parts. The first part sets out the findings of the quantitative survey of the universities of the participating women and analyzes the gender based distribution of university management. The second part sets out the profile of the individual participants working in these universities including socio-demographic information, a description of the family, work-related background characteristics and job attributes.

Chapters 5 to 11

These chapters set out the findings of the study presenting the key themes and sub-themes emerging from the data on the influence of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors on career progression.

Chapter 12

The final chapter discusses the findings, considers the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology, sample selection and generalizability of the findings and the contribution made by the research including the introduction of an integrated indigenous theoretical model. Important issues to be considered and areas for future research are also identified. The chapter concludes with possible policy implications with respect to the overall study area.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The under representation of women in senior management positions is well recognized globally and locally. It is therefore important to review the significant factors which may contribute to this under representation. This chapter reviews the literature which focuses on those factors held responsible for women's lack of progress to senior positions which are similar across nations and societies.

The literature review is divided into three sections. The first section provides a brief account of the position of Muslim women from a religious perspective based on original and authentic⁴ sources in Islam. The purpose of this was to provide an analysis of the teachings of Islam regarding the role of women in society. It was seen as useful to review briefly how women were engaged in Islamic activities during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to assess how Islam honored and empowered women in all spheres of life. This section also provides examples of remarkable Muslim women leaders of that time and since. The chapter then focuses on the existing position of and attitudes towards women in the light of traditional and societal views in the patriarchal society of Pakistan.

The second section presents a concise analysis of previous research undertaken on the issue of women in senior management followed by consideration of the constraints facing women drawing upon existing research. It also highlights the moderating effects of organizational and family support to women's career progression in general.

In the third section, key theories and models are reviewed and evaluated to explore their relevance to the aims and questions of the current research and for explaining the factors influencing women's career progression to senior management positions in higher education.

⁴The authentic sources are: The Qur'an which is the word of Almighty Allah and Authentic Hadith or Sunah (tradition) of Prophet Muhammad ((PBUH).

Section I

2.2 Status of women in the religious perspective

More than 1400 years ago Islam set out women's rights as mother, wife, daughter and sister through the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) giving them full privileges and honor in each and every aspect of their lives (Badawi, 2000; Chishti, 2003). The Qur'an clearly confirms that woman is completely equal to man to Allah in terms of her rights, responsibilities and in receiving rewards for her deeds (Badawi, 1995; Shabana, 2007). For example the Qur'an states:

“For Muslim men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in Allah's praise. For them has Allah prepared forgiveness and great reward (Quran Surah Al-Ahzab, 33:35).

“What makes one valuable and respectable in the eyes of Allah, the creator of mankind and the universe, is neither one's wealth, position, intelligence, physical strength nor beauty but only one's *taqwa*⁵” (Badawi, 1995; 2000). The Quran repeatedly affirms:

“If any do deeds of righteousness be they male or female and have faith, they will enter heaven, and not the least injustice will be done to them” (Quran Surah Al-Nisa, 4:124).

“Whosoever performs good deeds whether male or female and is a believer, we shall surely make him live a good life and we will certainly reward them for the best of what they did.” (Quran Surah Al-Nahl, 16:97).

In the last Khutbah⁶ on 9th Dhul Hijjah⁷ the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) said “*you are all equal. Nobody has superiority over other except by piety and good action. Remember, one day you will appear before Allah and answer for your deeds. So beware, do not astray from the path of righteousness after I am gone*” (Al- Bukhari and Khan 1987).

⁵Allah's consciousness and awareness

⁶ Sermon

⁷ 12th and last month of the Islamic year

Historically, women were also equal to men in the pursuit of education and knowledge (Badawi, 1995). Almost fourteen centuries ago, the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), declared that “*seeking knowledge is mandatory for every Muslim man and Muslim woman.*” (Ibn Majah /Al-Bayhaqi). According to Sahih Al-Bukhari the women at the time of the Prophet (PBUH) became so keen to acquire more knowledge that they came to the Prophet (PBUH) with the following submission, “*You are always surrounded by men for imparting knowledge so appoint a day for us.*” The Prophet (PBUH) promised to do so and went to them and taught them (Al- Bukhari and Khan 1987). Shilling (1980) states that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUM) was the first teacher for women and men. He also sent representatives with messages to educate Muslim women. Thus they became among the most learned figures of their time and started offering guidance to others in educational matters (Rafiabidi, 2007).

A woman is authorized to have freedom of expression equal to that of a man (Badawi, 1995). Her judgment and opinions should be taken into consideration and cannot go unnoticed just because she is woman (Ali, 2004; Hussain, 1987). According to Badawi (1971) both in the Qur’an and in Islamic history ‘we find examples of women, who participated in speculative discussions and reasoned even with the Prophet (PBUH) himself as well as with other Muslim leaders’ (Quran, Surah Al-Mujadila858). An explicit example can be noted at the time of the ⁹Caliphate of Hazrat Umar Ibn al-Khattab. Once he was discussing with *Sahabas Ikram*¹⁰ and considering putting an upper limit on the *Meher*¹¹. A woman from the back-seat of the Mosque objected, giving Quranic reference from *Surah Nisa*, (V.4:20). She said. “*When Quran puts no limit on Meher, Omar, you have no right to intervene in a matter which Allah the All-Mighty has already decreed in*

⁸Surat Al-Mujādila meaning “The Pleading Woman”

⁹ The Caliphate meaning Islamic state comprising the first four caliphs in Islamic history and was founded after Muhammad (PBUH)’s death. Caliph comes from the Arabic word ‘*Khalafa*’ meaning successor.

¹⁰Sahaba were the followers and close companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

¹¹Marital gift/money given by the husband to his wife at the time of marriage

Quran.”Hazrat Umar Omar withdrew his order and humbly replied in the presence of people: "*The woman is right and Omar is wrong*" (Haleem, 2007; Badawi, 1971).

It appeared that women of that time knew their rights and responsibilities very well (Hassan, 2004). There were instances which showed that some women even challenged the great scholars of their time if they said something which was against the rights granted to women by the Quran and the Sunnah¹² (Badawi, 1971; Ahmad, 2003).

The history of Islam also reveals that Muslim women participated in all walks of life from as early as the seventh century (Haleem, 2007; Rafiabidi, 2007; Rasool, 1977). The best example is that of Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) wife, Hazrat Khadija (RA)¹³ who was a very successful businesswoman who had employed the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to sell her goods overseas (Al-Jada, 2009; Rasool, 1977). This indicates clearly that Islam awards women equal rights in relation to work to earn and possess independently (Hamdan, 2009). The Qur'an says "*to men is what they earn and to women what they earn but ask God of His bounty*" (*Qur'an, Surah Al-Nisa: 4.32*). Thus a woman's life, her property, her honor are as valued as those of man (Shabana, 2007; Ahmad, 2003).

The evidence confirms that in Islam a woman has full rights in each and every aspect of her life (Hamdan, 2009; Nasir, 2009). She is acknowledged as an independent personality possessed of human qualities and worthy of spiritual aspirations (Khan, 2001). Her human nature is neither lesser to nor deviant from that of man (Hassan, 2004; Haleem, 2007; Rasool, 1977). The treatment of women in different Islamic countries is the result of culture and not of the teaching of Islam (Hamdan, 2009; Badawi, 1995; Nasir, 2009). In many cases, this is the result of misinterpretations of the Qur'an and Sunnah (Hussain, 1987; Shabana, 2007; Ahmad, 2003; Shah and Shah, 2012). Therefore, the status of women in Islam should be judged in the light of authentic sources on the subject which

¹²The practices and approvals of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

¹³RA: (*Razi Allah Tala Anhu*) May Allah be pleased with her/him

provide objectivity and not by observing what individual Muslims do or what any Muslim society does (Ali, 2004; Hassan, 2004).

2.3 Examples of remarkable Muslim women leaders

“From an Islamic perspective, leading has strong connotations of leading towards knowledge and righteousness through words and acts, entailing a knowledge status for the teacher/leader, as well as perceiving her/him as a role model in a holistic sense”(Shah, 2006, p. 366).

Contrary to general opinion, the history of Muslims is rich with women of great achievement in all walks of life (Ghadanfar, 2001). From the earliest days of Islam to the contemporary world, Muslim women have been and continue to be dynamic leaders in their time (Al-Jada, 2009). They have contributed to society as scholars, legal jurists, rulers, warriors, businesswomen and in other positions (Hassan, 2004).

“The Sahabiyat (women companions) were the noble women who were the contemporaries of the Prophet Muhammad. They were pure, virtuous crusaders of Islam and were honored during the very lifetime of the Prophet with the prediction that they would live in paradise in the Hereafter. Their achievements and influence are found in every sphere of that momentous period in the history of the world. They were as active in religion as in politics, as courageous in war as in the peaceful and persuasive propagation of the teachings of Islam. They were to be found in the political arena, in the field of education, in the courts of Islamic jurisprudence, in the interpretation of Shari’ah¹⁴, in trade and commerce, in agriculture, in medicine and in nursing. In short there was no sphere that did not benefit from their intellect, their wisdom and their gentle yet firm strength of character (Ghadanfar, 2001, p.11).

Islam has raised women to dignified and proud positions (Al-Jada, 2009, p.xii). ‘Many of the women companions accomplished great deeds and achieved fame. Throughout Islamic history there have been eminent intellectuals and jurists’ (Hassan, 2004). The leading example is that of Hazrat Aisha (RA) the wife of the Prophet (PBUH), who studied under the Prophet’s guidance for nine years. After His (PBUH) death she became

¹⁴Islamic law,

renowned as a scholar and had the distinction of being one of the greatest sources of Hadith literature (Rafiabidi, 2007). She provided guidance to the first Muslim society, even to the renowned Sahabah¹⁵ and the *Khalifah Rashidun*¹⁶ who sought her advice on a range of matters (Ibid). *‘Her knowledge of the many branches of religion like Tafsir¹⁷, Hadith¹⁸, Fiqh¹⁹ and Shari’ah, her wisdom in interpretation, and her mastery of the teachings of the Prophet - all these qualities made her one of the most remarkable personalities of the time’* (Ghadanfar, 2001). Her pupil, Urwah bin Zubayr, testifies, *“I did not see a greater scholar than Aisha in the learning of the Quran, obligatory duties, lawful and unlawful matters, Arab history, and genealogy.”* (Ghadanfar, 2001; Rafiabidi, 2007, p. 1094). During the period of Hazrat Abu Bakar she worked as *Mufti*²⁰ (Rafiabidi, 2007, p. 1095).

According to Usmani (2008) Hazrat Ashifa bint Abdullah was a great name in Islamic history. She is considered to be one of the first female teachers in Islam, a successful professional, scholar and intelligent woman. Hazrat Umar (RA) appointed her as a public administrator of Madina market and trusted and valued her views over others. Among the second generation of early Muslims, Hazrat Amra bint Abdurrahman was one of the greatest scholars and jurists and greater than many other male scholars during this period. She provided legal verdicts and was considered an authority on Hadith. Caliph Hazrat Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, encouraged Muslims to learn with her. Hazrat Aisha bint Sa’d ibn Abi Waqqass was also a jurist and scholar. Hazrat Sayyida Nafisa, the Prophet’s great granddaughter also was a renowned scholar. She was a teacher of Islamic jurisprudence. Her students travelled from distant places to learn with her. It is said that

¹⁵ the Muslim companions who saw the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH),

¹⁶the Khalifah Rashidun , the first four caliphs in Islam’s history

¹⁷ The interpretation of the Quran

¹⁸ The saying of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH)

¹⁹ The Islamic jurisprudence

²⁰ Islamic Scholar

the Shafi'i school of law Imam al-Shafi'i, had great respect for her, he also studied Hadith with her after his arrival in Egypt (Ibn Khallikan transl. by Guillaume, 2012). Hazrat Umm Salim, Umm Anas was the mother of the famous Sahabi Anas. She was a highly respected Sahabiyah. Ibn Hajar said "*Her creditable qualities are too many to mention*" (Usmani, 2008). Moreover, Hazrat Saffiyah, Hazrat Umm Salamah and Hazrat Fatima Bint Qays were also highly respected and great scholars possessing great intellect and brilliance (Haleem, 2007).

These few examples from Islamic history reveal that women were not confined indoors or restricted to domestic work (Ahmad, 2003; Shabana, 2007). The record of learned women of the early days of Islam confirms that women were not kept illiterate but rather were fully encouraged to participate in the process of education and learning (Hassan, 2004). They also participated in public life especially in times of emergency when they used to accompany the Muslim armies to the battle fields (Haleem, 2007) and helped by providing water and giving first aid to the soldiers (Ibid).

"However, the role that women contributed at the beginning of Islamic history has often been overlooked or neglected and as a result recorded data has been disproportionately unavailable even though Islamic history is full of stories and accounts of women and the significant role they played- their legacy is that of courage, integrity, and deep devotion to the message that the Blessed Prophet (PBUH) brought to mankind" (Al-Jada, 2009, p.vii).

2.4 Muslim women leaders from 1000 C.E onwards

According to Abidi (2013) there have been prominent Islamic women leaders since 1000 C.E. For example Razia Sultan (1236-40) was the first Muslim Woman in Indian history who ruled in the 13th century (Jamila. 1990; Abidi, 2013). Noor Jahan, wife of Jahangir, had greater influence in political matters than any other Mughal queen (Abidi, 2013). Zaibun Nisa daughter of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb was an eminent poet and theologian, while Chand Bibi (1580-1599) is recognized as one of the kindest Muslim women in the history of India (Ibid). Begum Hazrat Mahal was a prominent leader who actively participated in the country's first war of independence. She exercised authority and showed qualities of leadership and diplomacy (Ibid). For over three quarters of a century, Bhopal was ruled by Muslim women, including Qudsiya Begum, (1819-44), Sikandar

Begum (1819-1868) Shah Jahan Begum (1838-1910) and Sultan Jahan Begum (1858-1930). They all ruled Bhopal as Begums of Bhopal' (Ibid).

Fatima Jinnah, sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a renowned political leader, and one of the leading founders of Pakistan who took a very active part in Pakistan's politics (Ahmad, 2003). Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was ambassador to the Netherlands, Tunisia and Italy between 1954 and 1966 (Shahida, 1990; Jamila 1990) and according to Bennett (2010) since 1988 a number of Muslim countries have had women rulers and presidents, for example, Turkey (Tansu Ciller 1993-6), Bangladesh (Sheikh Hasina Wajed 1996-2001), Pakistan (Benazir Bhutto 1988-90 and 1993-6) and Indonesia (Megawati Sukarnoputri 1991-2001 and 2002-2004).

The conclusion which can be drawn from the above evidence is best summarised by Bennett (2010, p.2):

“This is an extraordinary record and somewhat of a challenge to the widespread perception that Muslim women are oppressed [...]. To what degree did culture rather than Islam aid and abet their roles, or indeed is it sustainable to distinguish Islam from culture”.

2.5 The current cultural context and women in senior management positions

Historically, Pakistan has been a patriarchal society (Madhani, 2007). However, in the past decade or so, social change has opened up the possibility for women to engage in education and enter the workforce (Murtaza, 2012). This contrasts with traditional Pakistani culture where a woman's expected role has been to take care of domestic affairs (Ibid).

As described in chapter 1, previously, a girl child in the Pakistani family frequently did not have many educational opportunities (Lall, 2009). The literacy level of girls is slowly improving (Ibid) and gradually women have begun to gain access to higher education institutions (Murtaza, 2012). The number of women students in higher education has increased significantly. These changes have taken place across the country due to a significant cultural shift in parental perspectives, that is an increased recognition that educating girls allows for the possibility of women working outside the home, contributing economically to the family and even pursuing a career (Murtaza, 2012).

Further to this, globalization has brought about change in Pakistan (Yoganandan, 2010). After completing their education women are entering the workforce in every walk of life (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010). For example, “at university level women are studying management sciences to raise their technological literacy and practical managerial skills. They are training in the fields of telecommunication and mass communication and being provided with the knowledge, skills and experience to become successful practitioners and leaders in the field of computer sciences, communication sciences and software engineering. Many women are now enrolling in Master of Business Education programs (PU 2013; FJWU, 2013). Women in Pakistan have held important roles in politics, social organizations and administration, media and communications, the civil service, banks, the armed forces, the police, engineering and information technology (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010).

At the same time, with the long-held traditional and social views of women and despite the government’s policies the pace of change is very slow (Qureshi and Rarieya, 2007). Although women have been held in high esteem in Islam, have held outstanding positions in Islamic history (Ghadanfar, 2001) and have served in prominent leading positions in the contemporary era (Bennett, 2010), generally, few women are able to obtain senior positions in politics and there are few women in higher education management positions (Jabeen and Iqbal, 2010). It is therefore likely that merely having educational and professional programs for women in universities will not be sufficient to bring about real change. Rather, there must be a true commitment on the part of Government to appoint women to key administrative posts, where currently they are noticeable by their absence. The available statistics (see chapter 1) clearly show that there is much work to be done to increase the presence of women in senior management positions. The first need is to examine the problem in depth and establish the root causes identifying what, how and why this issue persists.

Research on the factors affecting women’s career progression has been proceeding continuously over the years and there is a significant literature. The next section will review earlier research, analyzing and synthesizing it and discussing the barriers and constraints that have contributed to the under-representation of women in senior management positions.

Section II

2.6 The concept of Management, Leadership and Administration.

The concept of management overlaps with two similar terms leadership and administration (Sharma, 2009). Some people use the terms interchangeably. Others see them as different to each other giving different justification for this. Bertocci (2009) suggests it is difficult to separate leadership from leaders. Their meanings are intertwined. By describing one, we inevitably and conceptually consider the other. For example Bush (2010) associates leadership with setting the values and the vision of an organization and management as the more day to day accomplishment of the vision.

Coleman and Glover (2010; 3) blur the distinction between leadership and management and argue that “often the same people are undertaking both”. They also argue that the ways in which leadership is exercised depends on the prevailing culture. According to Sharma (2009:2) the term “management is widely used in Britain, Europe, and Africa, for example, while administration is preferred in the United States, Canada, and Australia”.

Coleman and Glover (2010; 3) further recognize that “educational institutions normally have a titular leader. It could be a principal, a head teacher, a vice-chancellor but that it is now accepted that leadership can be distributed among a range of people within institutions”.

The current research is also concerned mainly with the aspects of leadership and management exercised in the higher education institutions in the Pakistani context. For which different levels of university management are prescribed in the university act in which the term officer is used. For example according to the Punjab university act 1973 the senior officers of the universities comprise:

- the Chancellor,
- the Pro-Chancellor
- the Vice-Chancellor,
- the Pro Vice- Chancellor
- the Deans,
- the Principles of constituent colleges,
- the Registrar,
- the Controller of Examinations,
- the Librarian,
- such other officers as may be prescribed (Punjab University act 1973).

(For the detail of pay scale systems and classification of officials in Pakistan see Appendix 3.B: at page ...)

2.7 Previous research on the issue of women in senior management

Since the literature about women in management positions in Pakistan is limited, a wide range of literature has been considered which has endeavored to explore the factors which impact on women's representation in different management positions from different perspectives, adopting different methods (for example Madsen, 2012; Sperandio and Kagoda, 2008; Weyer, 2007; Cubillo and Brown, 2003; Shakeshaft, 2006; Weyer, 2007; Dominico et al., 2009; Coleman, 2011; Jabeen and Jadoon, 2008; Nidiffer, 2010; Shackleton et al., 2006; Gunawardena et al., 2006; Dunne and Sayed, 2007; Blackmore and Sachs, 2007; Shah and Shah 2012; Ohene, 2010; Elg and Jonnergård, 2010; Morley, 2013, 2012, 2007, 2006, 2005; Airini et al., 2011).

In general, the literature suggests that there are a number of complex factors obstructing women's advancement in leadership and management. These include gendered attitudes (Vinkenburg and Van, 2005); women choosing to take on family obligations (Babcock and Laschever, 2003); gender discrimination (Bendl and Schmidt, 2010; Blackmore, 1999); the exclusion of women from male developmental networks (Tharenou, 2005); the exclusion of women from career development opportunities (Morley, 2006); gender inequality in society (Unterhalter and Carpentier 2010); a lack of influential mentors (Coleman, 2011); uneven work-family responsibilities (Scott et al., 2008); a masculine organizational culture (Miller, 2006); caretaking obligations (Hewlett et al., 2005; Perrakis and Martinez, 2012); traditional gender stereotypes (Agars, 2004) and societal norms regarding women's roles (Korabik et.al., 2006).

Cross-cultural research on women in management suggests that the influence of culture and traditions may create greater challenges for women in Asian countries (Yukongdi, and Benson, 2005) where formal and informal power structures (Shah and Shah, 2012) and unequal distribution of family responsibility exists (Buddhapriya, 2009). Women face several difficulties to their career advancement at both the organizational and societal level (Jabeen, 2009). This is relevant to many organizational environments (Korabik et al., 2008). Maume (2006) explains that in most Asian societies, it has been rare to see women in the workplace because they are assumed to be homemakers, caregivers, and

nurturers. Rowley and Yukongdi (2009) state that “women’s career progression to senior management positions is influenced by individual, organizational and societal factors, all of which need to be taken into account as they simultaneously interact with each other” (p.2).

The section below offers an overview of the fundamental factors acknowledged in the literature which are of specific relevance to the analysis of participants’ experiences in the research reported in this thesis.

2.8 Traditional gender stereotypes and societal norms regarding women’s roles

Many authors have shown that the existence and persistence of stereotypical cultural practices and socialization and gender biases explain the poor representation of women in senior management roles (Shah and Shah, 2012; Shah, 2009; Embry et al., 2008; Cubillo and Brown, 2003; Curry 2000).

Miler (2005) defines societal norms as everything that adds to shaping society what it is, guides and directs what people do in communicating values and also determines how they do so. It develops implicit and explicit biases, negative gender role perceptions, and stereotypic social values about women's abilities, management performance, and leadership attitudes (Mirza and Jabeen, 2011; Shakeshaft, 2006; Korabik, et al., 2006).

The Catalyst survey (2002; 2007) persistently found stereotypes - preconceptions of women’s roles. Vinkenburg and Van, (2005) suggest that gender biases were the most frequent barriers to women’s advancement. Coleman (2011) also verified that ‘gendered attitudes’ play a crucial role in women’s career progression (p.174) and strongly support women’s childcare and domestic responsibilities (Gutek et al., 1991; Fu and Shaffer, 2001; Lee et al., 2004; Hewlett et al., 2005), whereas men have been given the role of breadwinner (Duxbury and Higgins ,2005; Snow et al. 2003). Particularly in a highly patriarchal society it is less likely that many women will acquire the skills, training and competencies necessary for professional and management positions (Jabeen and Jadoon 2008). In Pakistani society Shah and Shah (2012) have also confirmed that women’s participation outside the home and their access to senior management positions is governed by societal belief systems.

Other research has provided evidence that these traditional stereotypes of women and men predominate in work settings particularly in relation to the upper level management positions (Schein, 2001) and have a strong impact on women's career development (Forster, 2001; Buddhapriya, 2009). For example, Moorosi (2000:7) notes how an ingrained societal perspective which maintains that "a woman's place is in the home" has contributed to the exclusion of women from senior management positions and causes gender inequality in society. Blackmore, et al. (2006) suggest that there is a huge impact of this perception on women's access and entry into positions of top management. From the Pakistani perspective, Jabeen and Jadoon (2008) suggest that cultural and social beliefs, attitudes and practices prevent girls from benefitting from educational opportunities and subsequently in gaining access to top managerial positions.

Cubillo and Brown (2003) found similar examples of stereotypic expectations and social and cultural expectations as barriers to women's careers in China, Cyprus, Dominica, Gambia, Greece, Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Zambia. These societies failed to recognize women's potential.

While many researchers have asserted that gender role stereotypes miscalculate and under-represent women's actual qualities and capabilities and continue to manipulate decisions regarding women's promotion and advancement to senior management (Jenny et al., 2011). Caliper (2005) identifies a number of characteristics that distinguish women leaders from men. They argue that gender based perceptions and attitudes towards women managers are based on various cultural pressures that women face in male-dominated organizations rather than on reality. Both genders have equal potential for being a successful leader. Fagenson (1993) recommended changes in existing societal perspectives and emphasized the need for acknowledging women's unique intuitive, cooperative, interpersonal, and participative management styles.

2.9 Biases and false perceptions

Several studies have indicated that managerial positions are stereotypically associated with men and as a result women are perceived as less competent for positions of power (Davidson and Burke, 1994). Mann (2009) asserts that women and men continue to be viewed differently with respect to many traits that have long been included in traditional gender stereotypes and as a result it is assumed that management is a masculine domain

and men continue to hold senior-level positions (Blackmore, 1999; Binns and Kerfoot, 2011). Professional women persistently find themselves surrounded by such perceptions (Bardoel et al., 2011). These are hard to eliminate from organizations (Greyvenstein, 2000).

Zulu (2003) and Mann (2009) argue that men are considered to be more forceful, assertive, aggressive, confident, independent, rational and task-oriented, whereas women are perceived as more nurturing, emotional, considerate, submissive, affectionate, indecisive and people oriented. Zulu (2003) associates this with socialization that starts in early childhood where boys and girls are taught to behave in what are perceived as gender appropriate ways. As a result there exist different expectations and attitudes to women and men and to their management skills (Brown and Ralph, 1996). Women are seen as less than and different from men when managing (Coleman, 2000). Societies believe that women lack commitment, motivation and the temperament conducive for administrative positions and advancement to the top, since traits associated with the male are more valued than those associated with females (Blackmore, 1999). Women often receive less favorable recommendations for positions of power and authority in organizations and this adversely affects the career opportunities of women managers (Shah and Shah, 2012).

However, several studies, for instance, Taylor and Hood (2010) Brinia (2012) and Elesser and Lever (2011) have shown that women leaders, as compared with men, are perceived as more intelligent, better decision-makers, more hard-working, ambitious, confident, having better communication skills, and being honest and supportive. Although, individual differences in leadership positions between men and women have been perceived in some settings, some research findings have suggested that leadership is gender neutral, purely based on skills, inherent qualities, and attitudes and has nothing to do with gender (Byron, 2007). Successful leaders can be of either gender. The necessary professional development training can enable each person to become an effective leader with the necessary leadership qualities without any gender bias (Rey, 2005).

2.10 Domestic responsibilities and women in management

It is often argued that domestic responsibilities reduce the opportunities for women to take positions with management responsibilities as they are responsible for the majority of child-care and household chores ((Hoobler et al., 2011; Colman, 2011; Perrakis and

Martinez,2012).These domestic expectations hold back their progress as they are perceived as being unsuitable for administrative positions (Ibid). Moorosi (2010) found that women's preference for management positions was narrowed by family responsibilities. The participants in her study felt that they could not seek promotion early in their careers because they had family commitments. Uneven work-family responsibilities create pressure for working women. They can find it difficult to balance their personal and professional lives and therefore be reluctant to take on work responsibilities (Scott et al., 2008). Foster (2001) also found that despite the very genuine progress that women have made over the last several years in many professions, women continue to take a greater responsibility for domestic responsibilities, even if this impedes or even stops the progress of their careers.

Scott et al. (2008) further suggest that as long as society continues to emphasize that a women's fundamental job is that of mothering, working women will face dual role conflict. Because family members expect women to take on all kinds of home responsibilities, they do not provide them with support and assistance in time of need (Frone et al., 1992). Namayandeh et al. (2010) suggest that such uncooperative attitudes exhibited by family members are likely to increase women's dual burden. Men think women should give low priority to their career and should be more focused on their family. Coleman (2011) argued that due to family pressures, women may sometimes choose lower or middle level positions for the sake of flexibility to balance their work and family time. She further argues that despite all of the arguments and debates about the division of domestic liability, generally, it is believed that women should still assume the main responsibility for children and other related domestic affairs.

Although Pakistani women live in a collectivist culture and receive support from the majority of their family members, patriarchal features of Pakistani society still exist (Rab, 2010). There are traditional gender role expectations and women take on the responsibilities of family-related matters including child-care (Ibid). This might be a reason for their low numbers in senior management positions.

2.11 Work/Life balance challenges and women in management

Historically, as well as in recent years, there has been considerable research on work and family life (Kossek et al., 2010) particularly in relation to the actual and perceived impact

of dual responsibilities as a barrier to women's career progression (Miller, 2006). There is a huge body of literature that suggests work/life balance challenges career opportunities in women's lives and forms the basis of work-family conflict (Currie et al., 2002; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009). The generally quoted definitions of work-family conflict state it as a form of inter- role conflict in which, the role demands from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respects (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985).

In the study of contemporary organizational behavior (Poelmans et al., 2005), the idea of 'role salience' (Noor, 2002), and that family and organizational factors, gender role expectations and societal expectations are related to work-family conflict is not new (Buddhapriya, 2009). Velgach et al. (2006) and Buddhapriya (2009) proposed that all aspects of traditional gender roles and societal expectations predict work-family conflict. Many studies have explored the relationship between traditional gender roles, dual responsibilities and work-family conflict and its adverse consequences for individuals (for example Shoaib et al., 2009; Aycan, 2005; Frone, Russell and Cooper, 1992; Duxbury and Higgins, 2005; Noor, 2002; Karimi, 2008), and the organizational level repercussions (for example Allen et al., 2000; Shoaib et al., 2009 ; Koekemoer and Mostert, 2006; Hammer, et al., 2003; Kim and Ling 2001; Skitmore and Ahmad, 2003; Haar, 2004). Runte and Mills (2004: 240) argued that "women have to pay the toll for crossing the boundary between work and family".

In addition, high demands in the work domain can negatively affect family life (Bakker and Geurts, 2004). More work demands predict more work for the family and thus can lead to work-family conflict (Korabik and Lero, 2004; Korabik et al., 2009). Due to the incompatibility between work and family domains, women are likely to experience stress (Allen et al., 2000). This leads to fatigue and health problems (Mostert, 2008). Excessive work demands usually have a more deleterious impact on family life than on work life (Cinnamon, 2006) because such demands cause exhaustion and overtiredness. This leads to the experience of work-family conflict (Bakker and Geurts, 2004) and creates an unpleasant home atmosphere for all family members (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000; White et al., 2003).

Korabik et al. (2009) argued that the more an individual is devoted to their work role, the more work-family conflict arises. White et al. (2003) found a conflict between high-

performance practices and work-life balance policies. In the context of professional life it is generally believed that dedication is represented by working full-time, including being in early and staying on late (Korabik et al. (2009). It is perceived that personal circumstances should not intrude into the work domain (Palmer, 1996). In senior management positions, high devotion to work is unavoidable and can cause the individual to sacrifice family life resulting in work-family conflict (Coleman, 2011).

With reference to women's career progression many studies focusing on the possible impact of work-family conflict have observed that females with children report greater work-family conflict than those without children (Grzywacz and Marks, 2000; Fu and Shaffer, 2001). Netemeyer et al. (1996) and Luk and Shaffer (2005) found that there was a correlation between the number of children at home and work-family conflict. Furthermore, a working mother with young children finds it more difficult to balance work and family than parents of older children who do not need so much daily care (Aryee, 1992). Infants and pre-school children need their parents to spend a great amount of time and effort in their care (Hughes and Galinsky, 1988; Aryee, 1992). Ultimately, the responsibility for children customarily seems to lie with women, which leads to higher work-family conflict than for men. Thus, Runte and Karimi (2008) suggest that the issue of work-load in the case of demanding jobs such as institutional headship cannot be ignored as a serious barrier for women to their career progression. Those holding management positions in universities have to manage multiple, complex tasks and responsibilities (Currie et al., 2002). Devine et al. (2011: 645) claim that "effective senior management required relentless commitment to the strategic goals of the organization and an implicit assumption of their 24/7 availability to their management roles". Thus professional lives present more and more challenges creating a real conflict between the requirements of professional lives and responsibilities in the family domain (Frone et al., 1992). Work overload (Neal and Hammer, 2007) causes strains and stress among working women (Yang et al., 2000). The greater the work overload the greater the work to family conflict and family to work conflict (Korabik and Lero, 2004; Korabik et al., 2009; Mostert, 2008). Women, by entering into management positions, add to their responsibilities and workload (Duxbury et al., 1994). To conclude, women can experience difficulties with the handling of multiple roles both at work and at home (Tharenou, 2005; Brodbridge, 2008). Ismail and Ibrahim, (2008) suggest that women's commitment to the family is the most significant challenge perceived by executive women.

In contrast to the work of Greenhaus and Parasuraman, (1999) and Greenhaus and Powell (2006) who have focused on conflict in the work-family interface, other researchers have found beneficial aspects of the work-family interface for working people (Mann, 2013; Haar and Bardoel, 2008; Stoddard and Madsen, 2007; Wayne et al., 2004). Such research adopts different terms to describe the positive aspects of the work-family interface instead of focusing on work-family conflict, for example work-family facilitation (Frone, 2003; Rotondo and Kincaid, 2008), work-family compensation (Edwards and Rothbard, 2000), work-family enrichment (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001) and positive spillover from family to work and work to family. These authors have all tried to explore the positive relationships between work and family. Whereas McMillan and Morris (2012) suggest problem-solving coping to completely mediate the relationship between family work conflict and life satisfaction.

Adopting such a positive perspective, Baruch and Barnett (1987) suggested that women who had multiple life roles were less depressed and had higher self-esteem and were more satisfied in their marriages and jobs compared to women and men who were not married, unemployed or childless. They argued that it was the quality of the role rather than the quantity of the role that mattered. They indicated a positive association between multiple roles and good mental health when a woman likes her job and likes her home life (Ibid). Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and Steenbergen et al. (2007) also argue that work and family responsibilities need not always be detrimental.

Before considering some of the possible effects of work-family issues on working females, it is necessary to reiterate that there are diverse cultural contexts across the world ranging from collective to individual perspectives. Despite this similar themes emerge across cultures regarding the role of women. Pakistani culture tends to be collectivistic. For working women this means that family members i.e. grandmother, grandfather, aunt, uncle all take care of children. Even in an individualistic society, despite the pressures working mothers have to deal with, they enjoy better health and healthier relationships than full-time housewives. Therefore, the work-family interface might not be a problem for women depending on their specific circumstances and culture. Taking account of this, the current study has as a main research questions '*Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan*'? Further to this the research considers how

organizational and family support impacts on the challenges that are faced by working women in the collectivistic context of Pakistani society.

2.12 Caretaking obligations and women's careers

Alongside domestic responsibilities are many working individuals, who are caring for their aging parents, disabled family members, and young children (Barling et al., 1994; Sunoo, 1997; Cantor, 1992). These obligations have a major impact on care-giving employees and their organizations (Ahuja et al., 2002). Society still expects women to be ready to give time to fulfill these care demands (Casper et al., 2002). This presents challenges for women as elderly people in the family require considerable care (Kinnunen and Mauno, 1998). These obligations on women to care for children and other dependant family members are often perceived as incompatible with workplace responsibilities (Lynch et al., 2009).

Morley (2007) suggests that due to these responsibilities women are slower in acquiring the necessary requirements for promotion; consequently, women rarely make it to the top positions. This seems to be the case among Pakistani women. For example in one of the Pakistani public sector universities 6 out of 28 women refused to avail themselves of funding opportunities for doctoral studies abroad because of family responsibilities (Rab, 2010). Parallel to that, it is important to understand that, although the value of caring for parents may be common across cultures, in collectivist societies families have a greater sense of responsibility to take care of their elderly parents and dependant relatives. Every member of the family feels a moral obligation to take care of them. In Pakistan, the joint or extended family system is the dominant family system (Mason, 1992). The importance given to the role of family cannot be underestimated (Akhlaq et al., 2013). A commitment is often seen among family members when they all live in one place and support each other and take care of mutual interests and necessities (Gupta, 1999). Therefore, in the Pakistani context, women's caretaking obligations and the impact on their career progress requires exploration as the collectivist culture might lead to different expectations of them.

The limited research in this area shows that women get considerable support from their families during their career development (Hassan, 1995; Rab, 2010). This raises issues as to why women do not attain senior management positions in greater numbers. Therefore, it is vital to explore the role of family support with reference to women's progression to

the upper levels of management taking account of their domestic responsibilities and caretaking obligations.

2.13 Discrimination against women and career development opportunities

Research has emphasized the importance of training as preparation for management and has considered it as a vital component in gaining top management positions (Mathibe, 2007; Bush and Jackson 2002; Mestry and Singh, 2007). Some research (e.g. Powell, 2010; Ibarra et al., 2010) has indicated that talented women at lower management levels do not receive the necessary development opportunities compared to their male counterparts due to discrimination amongst them. Morley (2006) argues that gender discrimination excludes women from career development opportunities. Moorosi (2010) also found evidence of discrimination among women at the level of planning, access into management and once they held such positions. Jones et al. (2006) and Blau and Kahn (2007) report that due to bias and discrimination against women they are paid less than men. Eagly and Carli (2007) and Barreto et al. (2009) refer to the glass ceiling and ILO (2004) draws similar conclusions, while Altman et al. (2005) suggest that the glass ceiling operates at the highest management levels.

Ibarra et al. (2010) and Mann (2009) propose that men continue to dominate because of their greater control over economic, political and social resources. As a result, there is a tendency for women to leave large organizations and pursue their career in small organizations (Fielden and Davidson, 2010). Oke (2003) and Ahmad (2001) also believe that women's career progression is hindered by the social environment, legal and institutional structures, unequal employment opportunities, work-life balance and restricted access to professional development opportunities associated with economic resources. In Asian contexts like India and Pakistan, while avenues for work are now increasingly open for women, they still have to fight against gender bias to gain acceptance as equals (Mirza and Jabeen, 2011).

2.14 Women have fewer support developmental networks

Developmental networks (Higgins and Kram, 2001) have been suggested as being an essential part of support providing for professional development (Ismail and Rasdi, 2007) and gaining power within an organization (Brass, 1992) by bringing like-minded people together (Ismail and Rasdi, 2007). Networking is considered as a means of support and

development particularly for working women (Tharenou, 2005) and can provide emotional and instrumental support through counseling and mentoring (Coleman 2008; 2011). Ismail and Rasdi (2007) explored the experiences of networking of a group of 31 executive women and identified that networking helped them to access senior positions. Quinlan (1999) states that networking with other female leader peers provides the necessary emotional, psychological and social support that is vital for survival in a male dominated field of work.

Women believe that being part of male networks can assist their career success in terms of having the relevant information and resources to perform well and progress over time (Linehan, 2001; Bierema, 2005). However, they remain disadvantaged because they have fewer support networks to promote themselves within organizations, get information about jobs and help them to be interviewed (Blackmore, 1999). Men on the other hand have their own networks and feel more comfortable with other men (Coleman, 2011). Consequently, they provide the majority of networking opportunities. Rab (2010) suggests that in Pakistani universities there are a higher percentage of male faculty members who then support their male counterparts in elections for representative positions on statutory bodies and give preference to male colleagues in relation to employment and career promotion. Women are not part of these systems and these male-dominated networks often create barriers to women's advancement. Tonge (2008) and Gardiner et al. (2000) agree that women have been marginalized from networking because the processes of belonging are highly exclusive and male dominated. Miller (2006) also suggests that a masculine work culture at senior levels frustrates women, causing considerable strain in their lives.

This exclusion of women from male developmental networks (Tharenou, 2005) and the lack of networking are often cited as major barriers to women's career progression in senior management across all professions (York, et al., 1988). Segregating women from male networks limits their 'social capital' (Burke and Vinnicombe, 2005:248). Consequently they have very little professional support and promotion decisions are often open to bias (Ibid).

2.15 Gender, power, and organizations

Halford and Leonard (2000) have explored the links between gender, power and organizations showing that “gender differences are mobilized by organizational structures, rather than simply being imported from elsewhere” (p, 44). Fiske and Lee suggest that stereotypes and prejudice create workplace discrimination. The ‘masculine organizational culture’ (Miller, 2006:5) and patriarchal nature of organizational structures implies that men manage not only as managers but also as men (Blackmore, 1999). Morley (2006) maintains that such organizational cultures, dominated by discriminatory practices stress women and organizations continue to give preference to male leadership (Coleman, 2005; Blackmore et al 2006). A study by Brodbridge (2008) suggests that women’s key role in the family, discriminatory attitudes by men and related organizational culture are major barriers faced by women in senior positions. In male dominated organizations, women receive less support (Marcinkus et al., 2007) and acceptance and they feel threatened as organizations typically favor stereotypical masculine values and practices (Bagihole, 2002). Kanter (1977) suggested that in male-dominated hierarchies, the decision-makers are likely to be men and the internal networks are likely to be male. This disadvantages women.

A report of a research project at five universities around the United Kingdom i.e. Oxford, Edinburgh, Heriot-Watt, Luton and Surrey, concluded that universities are unfriendly to women. It further suggests that none of the women felt comfortable about working in a predominantly male environment (Athena²¹ Project Report on the 2000 Development Programme²²). Women employees who do not have compassionate superiors are also likely to perceive their organization as unfriendly to women ((Schein, 2005: Allen, 2001). They also do not have control over work and family matters (Thomas and Ganster, 1995) and are more likely to perceive increased work-family conflict (Snow et al. 2003). White

²¹ Athena is part of the Equality Challenge Unit and supported by the UK funding councils, Universities UK, SCOP and the Office of Science and Technology.

²² The five projects at the Universities of Edinburgh, Heriot-Watt, Luton, Oxford and Surrey, which were funded by Athena, started in summer 2000 and were completed by autumn 2001. All five projects focused on the organisational culture and the processes and practices in SET and HE which present barriers to women’s progress to the top.

(2001) observed that it would appear that once women reach senior levels in any organization they come across male dominance although they tend to accommodate it rather than challenge it.

Thus it appears that the under-representation of women in management positions is associated with the lack of professional and institutional support. This limits women's career planning and development opportunities (Moorosi, 2010; Greyvenstein 2000). Morley (2000) suggests that this reflects the micro-politics of the academic world and Ryan and Haslam (2006) and Van and Haslam (2005) call it the 'glass cliff' where women are deliberately promoted to difficult management positions so that they may fail.

Women shaping their career in a male-dominated environment might expect having a female boss would work in their favour (Wichert, 2011). Zulu (2003) suggests that "women already in high positions should try to support other women and affirm them and not close the doors on them once they are inside." (p.103). A number of countries have encouraged the establishment of women's universities mostly headed by women (Sagaria, 2007). Asia has several women's universities (Rowley and Yukongdi, 2009). Previously segregated educational institutions at school and college level have been a common feature of Pakistani society (Shah, 2009). With the inception of a women's only university in 1998, higher education is also segregated in some parts of Pakistan. Currently, there are seven women's universities and one degree awarding institute in the public sector and one university in the private sector (HEC, 2014). (See appendix 2A for details). Women's universities are assumed to play a significant role in promoting women's career opportunities (ACU, 2002).

However, contrary to expectations (ACU, 2002; Zulu, 2003), a study of nearly 1,800 U.S. employees found that women working under female supervisors reported more symptoms of physical and psychological stress than those working under male supervisors (University of Toronto, 2008). Drexler (2013) writes that "a 2007 survey of 1,000 American workers released by the San Francisco-based Employment Law Alliance found that 45% of respondents had been bullied at the office including verbal abuse, job sabotage, and misuse of authority, deliberate destruction of relationships, and that 40% of the reported bullies were women". Sloan and Krone (2000) have also studied power relations between men and women in the work place. Their research revealed that the

hierarchical relationships found in the broader society existed between men and women and between women in what has called the 'queen bee' syndrome (Staines, et al., 1974). It seems that issues relating to gender and power are not confined to one gender only. It is therefore difficult to say whether women have better experiences in single gender institutions or where they have female superiors.

2.16 Women's own choices and lack of interest in management

Van Eck and Volman (1996) established that the issue of women's underrepresentation is influenced by personal factors as well. Tallerico (2000) calls this 'individual agency'. Kumra (2010) and Cubillo and Brown (2003) reported that women's professional experiences, aspirations, ambitions and confidence affects their choice as to whether to opt to work in management. In educational contexts some women prefer teaching to managing. Administrative positions do not interest them. In some cases, they lack the self-esteem which is an essential component of being a manager and this can potentially disadvantage them (Tallerico, 2000). However, Shah and Shah (2012) associate the lack of interest in management positions with unfavorable organizational environments such as the lack of acceptance of women in management positions in specific cultural contexts. Moorrosi (2010) found that women who experienced problems while managing seemed to have less ambition for management positions.

Sagie et al. (1996) associated the difference in personality traits and human capital characteristics with the cultural context within which boys and girls are typically socialized differently. Consequently, women tend to take on family obligations and may not aspire to promotion due to their family commitments (Babcock and Laschever, 2003; Shah and Shah, 2012; Perrakis and Martinez, 2012). Women may be unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to succeed in their career (Davidson and Fielden, 2003). Foster (2001) asserts that women have trouble in detaching themselves from the traditional role of homemaker and mother and juggle with both responsibilities. As a result they continue to face substantially different career opportunities (Beker 1964).

Some authors suggest that the lack of women in senior management is due to the trend that, in general, men and women are interested in different subjects. For example "girls are more likely to choose social sciences and humanities and boys science and mathematics-based subjects" (Coleman, 2001:22). Consequently, men are more often

found in engineering, mathematics and the sciences; women more often in the languages and social sciences (Ibid). Thus women limit their career options. However, Davidson and Burke, (2011) refer to the considerable variability between countries in this respect.

2.17 Factors supporting women's career success

As described earlier, there has been little increase in the participation rates of women in management positions. In exploring why this might be so Davidson and Burke (2011) considered the situation in different countries and found that there were wide differences in the number of women in management positions and the professions. The reasons for this related to supportive government practices; changing family roles and responsibilities; changes in demographic characteristics offering more opportunities for women; and improved economic and labor market conditions for women.

Coleman (2011) suggested that women's support systems were important in terms of career advancement. In general, social support refers to an individual's belief that they are valued by multiple sources and that their welfare is part of shared obligations (Ford et al., 2007). Brough and Pears (2004) categorize social support into two facets, organizational support and family related support. House (1981) defines four categories of social support: emotional, appraisal, informational and instrumental. Similarly, Viswesvaran et al. (1999) conceptualized social support as the provision of resources such as communication of information, emotional and moral support, or financial assistance.

In a 'collectivist society' (Aycan, 2005) social support comes from family members i.e. spouse, parents, children, extended family, and friends (Poelmans, 2005). They help by providing emotional and moral support (Kirrane and Buckley, 2004), by showing caring behaviors, (Lee and Choo, 2001), by contributing to household tasks (Erdwins et al., 2001) and by providing counseling and advice (Bernas and Major, 2000). In the work-family context, individuals feel that they do not have to sacrifice the family role to perform their jobs and can share work-family concerns in the workplace and at home (Kossek et al., 2001).

Successful women administrators almost always acknowledge the importance of social support (Coleman, 2011). Research funded by the ADB and conducted by the Governments of Bangladesh, Indonesia, Lao, Malaysia and Pakistan with 75 Pakistani

women in 1994 concluded that family support, notably by mothers, husbands and other male members of the family, was a strong factor influencing careers in a range of different fields (Hassan, 1995:115). Another qualitative study (Rab, 2010) found similar results.

Organizational support originates from multiple sources such as colleagues (Michel et al., 2010), supervisors (Frone et al., 1997) and employing organizations (Brough and Pears, 2004). A study conducted in Pakistan revealed that social support was moderately related to employee performance and job satisfaction and strongly related to work family balance (Malik et al., 2010). Casper et al. (2002) inferred that supportive supervisors had direct positive effects on employee perceptions of control over work and family matters. However, Rajadhyaksha (2004) found a low level of organizational support for balancing work and family responsibilities, while Michel et al. (2010) on the other hand found that colleague support reduced work intrusion into the family domain.

Social support also takes place in the form of mentoring (Line Germain, and Scandura, 2005). Mentoring can be utilized specifically to help women to overcome gender related career challenges (Dougherty and Dreher, 2007) and to enhance their career advancement (Hoigaard and Mathisen, 2009). ‘Social capital’ which is referred to as ‘social contacts’ can be increased through networking and mentoring (Tharenou, 2005) through which the careers of women can be promoted (Ibid). Exploring networks at organizational level can also help women in understanding the best ways to get their issues on to organizational and national agendas (Tharenou, 2005). Specific examples and success stories of women representatives can be shared with other women through case studies to enable them to perform their managerial roles more effectively (Tolar, 2012; Rab, 2010; Kossek et al., 2001). Coleman (2011) and Tolar (2012) emphasise the importance of mentoring and asserts that a lack of influential mentors critically contributes to the absence of women in senior management positions. They further suggests that all kinds of social support is needed to help women to overcome challenges and to succeed in their career progression. Interestingly, Hoigarrrd and Mathisen (2009) found no significant differences between male mentors and female mentors. Ragins and Kram, (2007) propose that working effectively as a mentor requires specific attitudes and skills and is not related to gender.

Research findings also show the value of social support in terms of improving work-family integration and subsequently reducing work-family conflict (for example Behson, 2005; Yildirim and Ayca, 2008; Samsinar et al., 2010). Support from the husband has

great importance in minimizing the stress of dual responsibilities for women (Aryee, 1992). Kim and Ling (2001) showed that when men provided greater support in terms of household chores and childcare, work-family conflict was not a major problem for working women. However, Noor (2002) suggested that it was beyond the spouse's ability to moderate the impact of all related stressors. Poelmans (2005) argued that restricting family support to the spouse only, could reduce support from other important family members that could make a significant difference to resolving work-family related issues. More general support from the employing organization may also be an important contributor to an employee's wellbeing (Allen, 2001) and career development (Ismail and Rasdi, 2007).

Some authors attribute career success to women's own abilities and credentials. For example, Mirza and Jabeen (2011) suggest that education, experience, training, socio-economic background, the home situation, early socialization, and personal traits all help women in terms of their capacity to manage their career commitment and motivation to advancement.

SECTION III

2.18 The theoretical framework for the study

2.18.1 Review of different theories and models

Several theories and models have been developed by researchers and explored in different studies over many years and can generally be categorized into two schools of thought (Jabeen, 2000):

- a. gender-centred perspectives;
- b. organization centred perspectives (Fagenson, 1990).

The gender-centred school of thought argues that there are differences between women and men in terms of their behavioral attitudes and personality traits. Mann (2009) points out that women and men continue to be viewed differently with respect to many traits. Much of the literature emphasizes gender specific traits and maintains that women lack certain behaviors, attributes, abilities and skills such as career commitment, ability to manage, and motivation to aspire to a career. Such behavior in women is stereotypically considered 'inappropriate' for top management positions and it is argued that this explains their lack of representation in top management positions (see for example: Yukongdi and

Benson, 2013; Mann 2009; Daley 2001; Davidson and Burke, 1994). Sagie et al. (1996), Oke (2003), Cliff (1998) and Ahmad (2001) also suggest that the professional activities of women are hampered by constraints that are gender specific. This school of thought does not consider organizational or societal factors to be relevant to women's career issues (Fagenson, 1993; Omar and Davidson, 2001; Jabeen, 2001).

The organization centred school of thought emphasizes discrimination against women rooted in both formal and informal organizational structures and processes as the main cause of women's under-representation at senior management positions (Jabeen, 2001). The organizational structure perspective assumes that the culture and characteristics of the organization shape women's behavior and provide greater opportunities for men (Fegenson 1990). The literature suggests that discriminatory organizational structures, policies, and practices impede women's advancement to top managerial positions (Martin, 1994; Marshall, 1994; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Kanter, 1977). The focus of the research is on the structures within organizations rather than the individual's own qualities (Bradbury et al., 2007). It is this which provides the theoretical basis for studies which have adopted this approach in their analysis of issues faced by women in progressing their careers (for example, Hempel, et al., 2009; Laschinger, et al., 2010; Miller, et al., 2001 ; Smith et al., 2010).

Although the gender-centred perspective and the organizational centred perspectives have provided useful analyses of women managers' experiences in organizations, individually they offer limited insights into the factors which impede women' career progression. They fail to take account of the interactions which occur between organizational and cultural variables in organizations and women's attitudes and behavior (Fagenson, 1993; Omar and Davidson, 2001; Jabeen, 2001; Schneider, 1983). Kanter (1977) argues that the differences between men and women in their attitudes are associated with the opportunities and power structures in organizations rather than gender.

There are three models which incorporate variables that have been shown to influence women's career development that are of specific relevance to the current study.

- 1) The Gender-Organization-System (GOS);
- 2) The Management Route Model; and
- 3) Spillover theory.

2.18.2 Gender-Organization-System model (GOS)

The perspective of the Gender-Organization-System model (Fagenson, 1990) is that the limited advancement of women in organizations is not due to either their gender specific traits as is suggested by the gender-centered perspective or discriminatory organizational structures as is suggested by the organization centered perspective (as described above) but the influence of both perspectives, i.e. gender specific traits and discriminatory organizational structures jointly affect and shape women's careers (Yukongdi and Benson, 2013; Jabeen, 2001).

Omar and Davidson (2001) and Jabeen (2001) propose the Gender Organization System (GOS) as a broad theoretical framework preferable to other models in attempting to determine the barriers to women's careers. The GOS framework outlines how organizational structure impedes women's entry to and advancement in the workplace (Fagenson, 1993; Cooper Jackson, 2001) and explains the status and experience of women in organizations with different organizational structures including opportunities for informal networking, diversity performance evaluation, stereotyping and preferred leadership (Cooper Jackson, 2001). Structures can include job recruitment, job assignment, mentoring, retention, and training, how work and family are balanced by employees, and promotion and reward systems (Fagenson, 1993). These factors were identified by Jabeen (2000) using the GOS model. Yukongdi and Benson (2013) also suggest that the Gender-Organization-System may serve as a theoretical framework for analyzing the complex multi-faceted issues concerning women in management in different countries and regions. However, to date, the GOS approach has only been used as a framework, and has not yet led to models that incorporate all three dimensions, personal, organizational, and societal to explain the career prospects of women in management.

Further the GOS model is based on premises that support the gender –centered approach in that women are seen to possess such characteristics that are thought to be incompatible with senior management positions (see for example Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Horner, 1972), although others reject this, e.g. Cleveland et al. (2000) who assert that women are equally qualified as their counterparts but despite that are still marginalized.

2.18.3 Management Route Model

The “management route model (Van Eck et al., 1990) examines the nature of gender inequality in women’s’ career paths and identifies three stages that determine career routes to senior management. The model “differentiates between the factors influencing the career path to management positions and distinguishes three phases: the phase of anticipation or preparation, the phase in which a function is sought and acquired, and the phase in which it is performed” (Van Eck et al., 1996, p. 406).

Problems encountered in the three phases can be related to the women (personal) and the way which educational institutions function (organizational). Broader social factors can also have an influence (social) (Ibid).

The management route model has been used by Moorosi (2006) and Cubillo and Brown (2003) as a framework for analyzing the different factors affecting women and their careers. They provided evidence that at a personal level women face internal challenges such as lack of aspirations and confidence. At the societal level there is gendered work division. Gendered stereotypes are influenced by cultural norms and belief systems that impact on organizational and family practices, consequently, they block women’s participation in management.

The three phases of the management route are closely linked (Van Eck et al., 1996), with the theory emphasizing organizational factors such as public policies, courses to gain expertise for women in management positions, financial incentives for vocational training, and creating facilities and practices that are beneficial to women’s career. The implementation of public policies, recruitment policies, organizational environment, and discrimination against women have received less attention.

At a personal level the theory emphasises women’s lack of passion for management positions but ignores other personality variables, although personal factors such as participation in informal networks are viewed as playing a crucial role at the personal level to prepare women for acquiring management positions

Although these phases highlight the way that personal, social and organisational factors affect women’s entry to management positions and the phases can act as an analytical frameworks, several important variables are ignored, including societal culture, cultural expectations and perceptions about the role of women. Several familial factors that could also be important in explaining women’s exclusion from leadership are also ignored.

2.18.4 Spillover Theory

Spillover theory (Pleck, 1977) has been the most popular theory for examining the work-family interface. Work-family spillover means the extent to which engagement in one area (family) affects engagement in another area (work) (Fredriksen et al., 2001).

The theoretical underpinnings of the present research include that of spillover theory as the other models do not deal with the positive elements which support women's career progression. Spillover theory can help to explain the reciprocal relationship between work and family by accounting for both the positive and negative influences of multiple roles (Leiter and Durup 1996). Spillover refers to the experiences (attitudes, behaviors, environments, demands, emotions, responsibilities, resources) of one role which spillover or affect the other role (Ibid).

This theory is based on the notion that there are permeable boundaries between work and family (Greenhaus, et., 1989; Hammer, et al., 1997), and moods, attitudes, emotions, feelings, stress, and behaviors generated in one domain can spillover into the other domain (Rothbard and Dumas, 2006).

There are two schools of thought among researchers working within a spillover framework, those who identify negative spillover between work and family and those who suggest that there is positive spillover. Negative spillover is generally characterized by work and family conflict or interference (Almeida et al., 1999; Repetti, 1989), whereas positive spillover between work and family includes resource enhancement, social support and work-family success or balance (Milkie and Peltola, 1999; Moen and Yu, 1999). According to Fredriksen et al. (2001) positive spillover "revolves around the conceptualization that the work sphere can have a positive or negative impact on the family sphere" (p.55-). Spillover can simultaneously involve the experience of both 'conflict and support' (Zedeck, 1992).

The theoretical foundation for the present research recognizes both perspectives i.e. negative and positive spillover. It is assumed that positive (social support) and negative (work-family conflict) elements will each have some impact on working women. Multiple roles, task demands, a good working environment, and social support will affect work and family roles simultaneously (Fredriksen et al., 2001).

However, Spillover theory is limited in that it focuses on the immediate aspects of the work-family situation. The balance between work and family is not set within the broader context where gender inequality may exist. It is also not directly concerned with women's career progression, although this is clearly relevant.

2.19 The theoretical foundation for the present research

To date, research focusing on issues related to women's career advancement in management has been addressed within the following approaches:

- 1) The gender-centered approach;
- 2) The organization-centered approach; and
- 3) The gender-organization-system approach

Each of these theories/models provide individual and unique insights into the issues related to the dearth of women in senior management positions and provide the basis for ongoing research, but none take account of all possible relevant factors. These theories/models tend to focus on either external or internal barriers, in some internal factors are more influential and for others external factors. Each therefore provides only a partial explanation and does not yield a comprehensive view of the factors influencing women's career progression. They identify the differences between men and women's management capabilities, discrimination against women in the organizational context and focus on factors impeding women's career progression. None offer a holistic framework which identifies all of the related factors significant for women's career advancement.

In order to investigate the issues of the advancement of women in higher education management, the theoretical approach adopted must be holistic and include both positive and negative factors based on the family, personal, organizational and social variables suggested by previous research and the interactions between them. "The theoretical perspective adopted, in turn, influences the research questions asked, the methodology employed, the variables included in the analyses, the results and the conclusions reached" (Yukongdi and Benson, 2013, p.2).

The current study address three main research issues i.e. the constraints faced by participants at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels; the supportive factors experienced by the participants at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels; and whether or not work-family conflict affects women's career progression in specific

cultural contexts. The models already discussed do not provide a holistic picture of both constraints and supportive factors and there has not been any notable progress towards adopting a holistic approach.

2.20 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the research on factors relating to women's career progression in general. There are some studies which focus on the factors influencing women's management careers in higher education but very few. There is even less research which has been undertaken in the Pakistani context. The available literature outside of Pakistan on barriers to women's career progression offers many explanations, identifies a range of complex factors and indicates that women's career progression is dependent on multiple factors, which may increase or decrease the numbers of women in management positions. It also indicates a range of supportive factors. The significance of these and their predictive power varies from situation to situation.

What the literature review has shown is that research on women in senior management positions needs to be considered more deeply from a cultural perspective. Therefore, this research aimed:

- a. to establish the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities where the interviewees were employed;
- b. to identify familial, societal, organizational and personal constraints and barriers to the appointment of women to senior management positions;
- c. to identify familial, societal, organizational and personal supportive factors which develop aspirations and boost women's confidence to be able to apply for senior management positions with a strong prospect of success; and
- d. to identify whether or not work-family conflict is a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan.

The research methodology for this study is explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and research processes employed in the study. To obtain answers to the research questions, described in the first chapter, the study employed a mixed-methods approach by conducting a quantitative survey of the gender based distribution of management positions in the universities in Pakistan where the interviewees were employed, interviews with key informants, and semi-structured in-depth interviews and a focus group with research participants.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of the methods adopted, their relevance to understanding the research and how the research questions were addressed (Grix, 2002). An account is then given of the methodology, and methods employed in the sample selection, data collection, the analysis and interpretation of data and the rationalization behind these choices. It explains the use of ‘coding’ and the procedures involved in data analysis. Ethical issues are considered as are issues of validity and reliability. The chapter concludes with a short summary.

3.2 Rationale for Research Approach and Methods

3.2.1 Research paradigm

A research paradigm refers to a research culture and the lens used to make sense of things (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2007; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). It is defined as the basic belief system that guides the researcher, not only in the selection of methods but in establishing the ontologically and epistemologically foundations of research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). There are three assumptions in research: epistemological, ontological, and methodological (Scotland, 2012). Epistemology is concerned with knowledge and how it can be acquired (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2007; Bryman, 2012). Blaikie (2000) describes epistemology as ‘the possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality, whatever it is understood to be.’ (p. 8). Ontological assumptions concern the nature of the world and human beings in social contexts and refer to whether reality is objective and external to human beings or whether it is created by individual consciousness (Bryman, 2001). The adoption of different epistemological approaches can lead to different interpretations of findings (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In

summary, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality', while epistemology is concerned with "how we come to know about" 'what exists' (Blaikie, 2000: 8).

The methodological perspective focuses on the methods used for data collection (Cohen, et al., 2011). In normative paradigms, quantitative methods are used to study things while an interpretive paradigm tends to use qualitative methods. Each can lead to different explanations (Bryman, 2007). Ritchie (2003) argues that qualitative research takes an inductive approach in which theory is generated from research, whereas the deductive approach adopted in quantitative research uses data to test theory. The two strategies represent differing epistemological positions.

Qualitative research is concerned with interpreting and understanding phenomena through the meanings that people attach to them (Brannen, 2008). In contrast, quantitative research is associated with a positivistic approach which holds that objective knowledge can only be derived from direct observation or experience (Robson, 2002; Brannen, 2008). Quantitative approaches are objectivist in that social phenomena are believed to exist independently of individuals (Bryman, 2007).

The following section explains the development and justification of the research strategy adopted for this research.

3.2.2 Research strategy and study design

The study with its focus upon understanding the views, perceptions and experiences of women working in higher education management, in relation to their familial, societal, organizational and own practices was consistent with an interpretist epistemological position. The epistemological assumption underpinning the interpretive paradigm is that all human action is meaningful and has to be interpreted and understood within the context of social practices (Usher, 1996; Scotland, 2012). This approach was best suited for the current research which was undertaken in a natural setting, where I interacted with women to study how they made sense of their everyday experiences in society, universities and at home in relation to their career progress. In exploring the different perceptions of the reality of these working women's social world, I took the view that

reality was best constructed in collaboration with them. This had implications for the methodology of my research.

Methodologically, the focus of this study and the research questions led to a mixed-methods research design which provided a comprehensive understanding of the career development of women in senior management positions in higher education management. A mixed-method research design is a general type of research employing more than one type of research method (Brannen, 2005). It includes both quantitative and qualitative approaches, techniques and methods; it can be a mix of quantitative methods or a mix of qualitative methods (Brannen, 2008). Although qualitative and quantitative research methods differ significantly in many ways, they are also related to each other. Traditionally, these methods are used in different fields, however, Bryman (2012) argued for a 'best of both worlds' approach and suggested that qualitative and quantitative approaches should be combined. This can enable a more accurate and in-depth study (Guthrie, 2010). Using mixed methods increases the richness of the data and provides more holistic results than either quantitative or qualitative research methods could produce alone (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008). Nevertheless, both of these methods have their own strengths and weaknesses.

This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, including

- Survey of the universities where the interviewees were employed
- In-depth semi-structured interviews with junior and senior staff working in management positions
- A focus group discussion
- Interviews with key informants

The decision for using both approaches was because of their suitability for answering different elements of the research questions, although the dominant paradigm was qualitative. A survey providing quantitative data was undertaken to establish the gender based distribution of management positions in the universities of the interviewees in Pakistan. The quantitative survey addressed the first research question.

3.3 Methods for data collection in the research

This section outlines the data-collection methods I used and explains the steps taken to implement each. As described earlier (see 3.1.3 in Research Strategy and Study Design) a mixed methods approach is used for conducting research that involves collecting,

analysing, and mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches in a single study to provide a better understanding of a research problem or issue (Lumby, 2011;Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). However, the selection of any particular combination of methods depends upon the characteristics of the data, the aims of the research, research questions, and the time and resources available (Brannen, 2005). Taking account of the above, I used a mixed method study design in my research including a quantitative survey followed up by the detailed individual interviews, a focus group discussion, and interviews with key informants.

3.3.1 The Quantitative Survey

Surveys and questionnaires, which are traditionally quantitative instruments, can also be used in conjunction with qualitative methods to provide corroboration and/or supportive evidence (Collins, 2011). “Surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions. Surveys may be varying in their levels of complexity from those which provide simple frequency counts to those which present relational analysis” (Cohen et al., 2011:256). With reference to my research, as there were no statistics available for the gender ratio of management positions in the Pakistani universities, I undertook a survey of the universities where the interviewees were employed (Cohen et al., 2011).

I prepared a template for universities to complete. I provided an explanatory letter (see appendix 3.A) which explained that the target group in my study was women in university management, married, single, with/without children working as gazetted officers in cadre BPS-17 to 22. (See appendix 3B for details about Pay Scale Systems and classification of officials in Pakistan). The template is set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Template: Gender based Distribution of Management Working in Grade 17, and above (i.e. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22) (Male/female ratio in numbers)

S.No	Name of the University	Post/Designation	Grade/BPS	Total	Male in numbers	Female in numbers

3.3.2 Interviewing

Interviewing is the most common data collection method adopted in qualitative research as interviews are a useful technique for enabling respondents to give detailed responses about complex issues (Bowling, 2002). Schwandt (2001) describes interviews “as a particular kind of discursive narrative where the meanings are contextually grounded and jointly constructed by interviewee and respondent” (p. 136).

Interviews are used extensively in the field of educational research, as they enable the researcher to gather rich descriptions of respondents’ experiences, opinions, and interpretations of the phenomena under study (Powney and Watts, 1987). Patton (1996) describes the basic approaches to collecting qualitative data through interviewing. “At one end are interviews which are highly structured with regard to the questions asked, the order in which they are asked and the way they are phrased. At the other end are “interviews which are unstructured, relying only on ideas and questions which come up as the discussion evolves” (Patton, 1996; 309). Semi-structured interviews are flexible allowing the interviewee’s own perspective to be explored (Bryman, 2004). In semi-structured interviews the interviewer has a list of issues and questions to be discussed but has some flexibility in the order of topics covered and can allow the interviewee to elaborate on the issue (Denscombe, 2010). Open ended questions are used which define the area to be explored but allow the interviewer or interviewee to diverge so that particular areas can be followed up in more detail (Britten, 1995).

Wengraf (2001) states that semi-structured interviews are more difficult to conduct than fully structured interviews, as the interviewee’s responses cannot be predicted and therefore the response of the interviewer has to be improvised, which requires mental preparation. Consequently, semi-structured interviews necessitate careful preparation before the session, discipline and creativity during the session, and time to be allowed for analysis and interpretation following the interviews (Bryman, 2012). Having considered the alternative interview methods I decided that semi-structured interviews would allow me to maintain some control over the issues raised while also giving me the flexibility I needed to explore new perspectives as they arose.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews in the research

My main research approach was in-depth interviews using a semi-structured ‘Interview Guide’ ((Friesen, 2010). The interview was structured in that I tried to follow a sequence of pre-written questions while I also respected interviewees’ views when they brought up specific instances at the familial, societal, organizational and personal level to illustrate a certain point, or raised issues in a different order to my questions.

Prior to undertaking the interviews, I designed a pre-interview questionnaire to be completed by each participant to collect socio-demographic information including age, education, designation, length of service, marital status, their spouse’s work status, number of family members, number of children, dependant/elderly relatives, and time spent in the office. (See pre-interview questionnaire in appendix 3C). This saved time in the interview and enabled the interview content to focus on participants’ experiences.

To explore the perceptions of women in management positions and to gain in depth insights into their successes and the difficulties they experienced in senior management positions, I asked them individually to shed light on two issues. First, what challenges and obstacles they encountered that impeded their career progression and second, what they felt helped them the most in their career progression. The interview guide included questions which focused around these two issues. Items were derived from the existing literature but also determined by the research questions. The topics addressed, for example, in *the familial context* included the family environment, domestic responsibilities, childcare responsibilities, and care of elderly relatives, family-work interaction, and inter-family support. In *the societal context* they included societal practices and women’s management career, in *the organizational context*: the organizational environment, work–family interaction, career development opportunities, and institutional recruitment practices and in the *personal context*: career satisfaction, career management, career progress, and time for socialization and personal care. (For detailed questions and sub-questions see the ‘Interview Guide’ in appendix 3D)

To initiate the discussion I asked broad questions, for example ‘*why are women not in the majority in senior management positions?*’ I developed new ideas and questions as they emerged during the interviews. I adapted some questions and added some. Strauss and Corbin (1998) argued that the initial interview questions may be based on prior literature

or experience but these original questions may be changed during the data collection process, to allow emerging concepts to be pursued. Denscombe (2010) suggests that semi-structured interviews allow respondents to discuss and raise issues that may not have been considered and provide opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes further.

I also decided to interview key informants. “Key informants” are those who can provide detailed information and opinions based on their knowledge of a particular issue (Robson, 2002). Key informant data can be used alone or in conjunction with another approach (Kumar, 1989). The key informants under study were not members of the targeted population but because of their positions, and responsibilities, had a good understanding of the issue to be explored. Some were involved in the recruitment of senior women managers. For example there were representatives from the following departments and organizations:

- The Chairperson Women Division
- Governments officials (who were involved in the recruitment of senior women)
- Vice-Chancellors of the participating Universities

In the case of the key informants, the interview questions focused on key themes such as: the positions of women in senior management positions, the causes of gender imbalance in management positions, universities’ contribution to women’s career development, and recruitment and promotion policies. Key informants were also requested to suggest ideas about how government, universities, women themselves and the wider community could address any potential barriers and make a positive difference to women’s career progression.

3.3.4 Focus Group

A focus group is a type of group interview commonly used for conducting qualitative research (Burke and Larry, 2012). Focus groups produce qualitative data that provide insights into people’s attitudes, perceptions and opinions (Kitzinger, 1994). The group setting encourages a range of different ways of communication between participants. It facilitates the expression of ideas, experiences, feelings, and beliefs that might be left underdeveloped in one-to-one interviews or questionnaires (Kreuger, 1988; Kitzinger, 1994:116).

Since this study aimed to discover and explore a wide range of views, opinions, and meanings that women assigned to their experiences, I chose a focus group as a further appropriate qualitative research method for the study. The focus group helped me to gain more insights into the issues in a shorter period of time (Cohen et al., 2007).

Two major issues were chosen for the focus group discussion: the major challenges participants faced to their career progression at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels and the factors that contributed to success. The focus group questions were: *Why are women underrepresented in the top management positions? What are the important factors behind this?* Sub-questions included those relating to the individual interviews, for example, *do you think there is any influence of traditional gender stereotypes and societal norms regarding your dual roles?* (See appendix 3D for details)

3.4 Sampling strategy

Sampling is a technique for drawing a sample from a population (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). This is a vital component of research (Cohen, et al., 2011). It is linked with external validity. Having a representative sample allows the researcher to generalize the findings of the research (Bryman, 2004). External validity is considered high in a probability sample that is selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has a chance of being selected (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). Random sampling is most commonly used in survey and other types of quantitative research (Bryman, 2004).

Qualitative researchers tend to choose non-probabilistic sampling methods (Cohen, et al., 2011) as their interests lie in understanding social processes, not achieving statistical representativeness (Mays and Poe, 1995). Among non-probabilistic sampling, purposive sampling is one of the most commonly used techniques (Ibid). Purposive sampling is often used in order to allow the researcher to focus on the particular area under research. It relies on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g. people, cases/organizations, events, pieces of data) that are to be researched (Mason, 2002). The researcher identifies the characteristics of a population of interest and then strives to trace those who have characteristics, relevant to the particular research questions (Bowling, 2002). Mays and Pope (1995) suggest that samples produced by this practice while they are not representative statistically, are relevant to research questions and theoretically

informed. Nastasi and Schensul (2005) state that qualitative research methods can actually provide more valid data than quantitative research methods, in investigating such things as the meanings people attach to their experiences. Cohen et al. (2011:157) also suggest that purposive sampling is useful to access 'knowledgeable people', i.e., those who have in-depth knowledge about a particular issue maybe by virtue of their professional role, or experience.

In this study I deliberately used purposive sampling as I was concerned to address specific issues related to women's underrepresentation in senior management positions. This involved the selection of a group of women to study on the basis of relevance to the focus of my research (Cohen, et al., 2011). In Pakistan, there are relatively few women in senior management positions in universities. In order to answer questions relating to the interplay of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors, I decided to interview women who were working in both senior and junior positions. I chose women who were likely to be the best source of information in order to answer the research questions.

Sample size depends on the resources and time available, as well as the study's objectives (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007:245) in qualitative research "the subgroup in a sample should not be so small as to prevent data redundancy or data saturation...each subgroup should contain no fewer than three cases". Seidman (2006:55) states that "enough is not possible as it varies in each study and each research". In relation to the current research the sample was selected to represent a range of women in management positions, in the public sector universities of Pakistan. Johnson and Christensen (2012) suggest that the most favourable situation is when the researcher specifies the required characteristics of potential participants.

The literature on focus groups also identifies a range of sampling techniques: one is recruitment on location, such as at a park, a fair, or a community event (Krueger, 1988). Given (2008) pointed out that the common method for selecting participants is purposive or convenience sampling as described earlier. In this study a group of six senior and junior women participants were recruited through a convenience sampling technique via a friend who invited her colleagues and participants of a conference held on that day, as she was the main organizer of that conference. Krueger (1988) recommended that focus

group size varies between four and twelve people. “It must be small enough for everyone to have opportunity to share insights and yet large enough to provide diversity of perceptions” (p.27).

3.4.1 Rationale for the selection of sample universities

This study focused on developing insights into the issue of women’s representation in management positions in the universities of Pakistan. Whilst selecting sample universities, initially, I limited myself only to the eight public sector universities. I accessed the basic statistics available from the Higher Education Commission, Pakistan. There was a total of 136 Higher Education Commission (HEC) recognized Universities/Degree Awarding Institutions (DAIs). These included 74 universities in the public and 59 in the private sector (HEC, 2011).

The reason for focusing on public sector universities was that they have uniform systems of promotion, selection, seniority, salary structure, and basic pay scales (BPS) as compared to the private sector. Furthermore, public sector universities in Pakistan represent the major providers of education (Jadoon and Jabeen, 2010). The sample universities were situated in four cities i.e. Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Gujrat and Lahore as these cities offered me easy access to participants and organizations.

The proposed universities offered a good combination of old and new, mixed and women only universities, located in urban areas/big cities, and a small city, and with or without specific area specialization. The reason for choosing this blend of diverse institutions was to explore a range of perspectives and provide a broad analysis of the potential factors contributing to women’s career progression (For details of the universities’ see table 3.2).

Another reason for limiting the choice of universities to the four cities of Pakistan was practical (Forrester, 2010). As a full-time student at the Institute of Education, University of London, and resident of Pakistan, the choice of venue to a great extent was a question of physical access as I was able to visit Pakistan for only a few months to collect data and these universities were located within easy access to my place of residence. Access was also facilitated by the fact that I worked in one of the universities and lived near to others. I requested colleagues, friends and relatives to help me gain access. Their close proximity to each other also made data collection easy.

3.4.2 Rationale for selection of the participants

For the purpose of this research a sample of 30 senior women and 18 junior women aspiring to attain senior positions was selected from eight public sector universities in Pakistan (See chapter 4, table 4.1). Table 3.2 presents the year of establishment, location, and the gender make up of the targeted universities. It also indicates the number of women, senior and junior who were interviewed.

Table 3.2 Sample of Public Sector Universities in Pakistan

Serial #	Name of University	Rural/Urban	Mixed/Single Sex University	No. of Participants Senior/Junior
1	University A	Urban	Mixed	2/2
2	University B	Urban	Mixed	2/3
3	University C	Urban	Single sex	3/3
4	University D	Urban	Mixed	4/2
5	University E	Urban	Single sex	5/2
6	University F	Urban	Mixed	7/1
7	University G	Urban	Mixed	4/2
8	University H	Rural/Urban	Mixed	3/3
Total				30/18=48

The study involved a total of 48 women; 30 senior women in university management, married, single, with/without children working in cadre/basic pay scale (BPS) 18 and above which comprised Deans, Directors, Heads of Department, Registrar, Treasurer and representatives of other management units of Universities. Eighteen younger women working in cadre/ BPS 17 as Assistant Controller, Assistant Registrar, Assistant Treasurer and Assistant Director having demographic characteristics similar to the senior women were also interviewed.

The reason for concentrating on women in senior positions was that by virtue of their positions (Cohen, et al., 2011) they were well placed to reflect on all factors at familial, societal, and organizational levels. This helped to identify the factors that acted as barriers and facilitators for women who were ambitious for senior management positions, the

challenges they faced in getting to the top of their career, and the difficulties and constrained choices they made to combine a career with domestic responsibilities. The logic behind focusing on women in junior positions was to understand the perspectives of those who were striving for senior management positions in their respective universities within the current context, as it was assumed that things were less difficult for them due to recent changes in cultural expectations.

I wanted to have equal numbers of participants from each sample university. I utilized for this purpose the lists obtained through the survey of gender based distribution of university management. However, equal numbers of participants were not available in some universities. The purposive sampling technique provided the opportunity to select the most relevant and accessible sample. This enabled me to include representatives from eight universities including both the oldest and the newest universities.

3.4.3 Gaining access to the sample and key informants

It can be difficult to gain access to participants (Cohen, et al., 2011; Bowling, 2002; Patton, 2002; Bell and Berger, 2003). However, the nature of my research did not require permission from others, only those who directly participated i.e. the women working in senior and junior management positions. As stated by Easterby and Lowe (2003) issues related to access differ to a great extent depending on the nature of the case being studied. As I did not need permission from the participant's universities this minimized potential difficulties.

At the beginning, I contacted the entire sample either by phone or e-mail or both. I sent them all a written letter in which I explained the context of my inquiry, gave them the questions which I intended to use to guide the interviews and explained that our conversations would be confidential (see appendix 3E). I acknowledged my awareness of the time pressures under which senior women worked and left it entirely to them to choose a day and a time for the interview within the three-months when I was in Pakistan. This direct approach meant that most of those I approached agreed to participate. One participant withdrew two days before the interview because of pressure of work, but otherwise the interviews took place as planned.

To recruit the more junior staff, I asked the senior women to ask two of their assistants if they would agree to be interviewed. After they agreed to participate, I sent them a letter similar to the one that I had earlier sent to the senior staff and set the interview schedule according to their convenience.

Access to those participating in the focus group (as described earlier) was arranged for me by a colleague, who invited a group of six senior and junior participants from a conference being held on that day to interact and discuss the issues of the study. They belonged to one of the sample universities.

Access to the key informants was more difficult, bureaucratic, and took some time. In several cases their personal assistants acted as gate keepers making it difficult for me to gain access. Buchanan et al. (1988) rightly state that access depends on the goodwill of gatekeepers, which “creates risks that are beyond the control of the researcher and which are difficult to predict or avoid” (p. 56). Despite this, I managed to conduct ten interviews, although only two were undertaken face-to-face, the remainder by telephone.

3.5 Conducting the research

3.5.1 Process of conducting quantitative survey

As described earlier to get the statistics for the gender ratio of management positions in the participating universities, I undertook a quantitative survey. I had initially attempted to undertake a survey of all universities in Pakistan but the lack of response despite repeated attempts to make contact led me to focus on the universities where my interviewees were working (for details of the questionnaire see section 3.3.1) Each university was approached by letter asking if they would complete the questionnaire (see Appendix 3 A).

3.5.2 Piloting the interview guide

A pilot study fulfils a range of important functions and can provide valuable insights for the research (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001) as it enables the pre-testing of research instruments, including questionnaires or interview schedules (Polit, et al., 2002). The pilot interview in the current research was conducted to try-out the interview guide and the sequencing of questions and to get feedback from participants to make modifications to the questions if this was deemed to be necessary.

I started data collection with an interview in one sample university. Following this, I changed and combined different questions as well as the sequencing of them. This need was verified by the second interviewee who at the beginning of the interview asked me to explain all of the main questions so that she could speak fluently without interruption. After the second interview, I also concluded that it would be beneficial to start interviewing the women in junior management positions. Therefore, the interviews with senior and junior staff were carried out in parallel.

3.5.3 Process of conducting the interviews

I had designed a pre-interview questionnaire to collect participants' socio-demographic information (for example, age, education, designation, length of service, marital status, spouse work status, number of family members, number of children, dependant/elderly relatives, office hours). I asked participants to complete this at the beginning of each interview.

The practical problems of conducting interviews include getting to speak to people and then getting them to be open and co-operative. It can be difficult persuading people to be honest in talking about their lives (Okumus, et al., 2007). However, there are various strategies which can overcome such difficulties (Cohen, et al., 2011; Shenton and Hayter, 2004; Gummesson, 2000). Preparing the interview guide (as described earlier) and conducting a successful interview was not straightforward. There were lots of elements to be taken into account prior to, during and after the interview in order to achieve the aims of the study (Cohen, et al., 2011). I considered some of the elements during the planning stage of the study and employed various skills in conducting the interviews.

There was a risk during the interviews that some participants may have been reluctant to answer questions about their universities. There was also a risk that interviewees would respond in a way that they considered to be the researcher's own perspective (Denscombe, 2010). Charmaz (2006) notes that "professionals who are interviewed may do so using public relations rhetoric, rather than reveal their personal views, much less give a full account of their experiences" (p.27). This was a concern because it was possible that the professionals interviewed may have held ideas about what they considered to be the correct responses with regard to social or institutional practices. According to Robson

(2002) the researcher's assumptions and preconceptions can also affect the study. These all constitute threats to the validity of the qualitative aspect of the research (Ibid).

Prior to the interviews, I sent an interview protocol to each participant. I spent time at the start of the interview to establish rapport. Seidman (1998) suggests that the interviewer needs to develop an appropriate level of rapport in the interviewing relationship which can be a delicate balance. I used different techniques such as probing for further information, requesting clarification, asking for examples and reflecting the responses of interviewees, each of which is considered a core skill of interviewing (Gillham, 2005).

All interviews were audio-recorded in conjunction with note taking, except four. Three junior managers were reluctant to have their conversation tape-recorded and one senior manager considered herself as "media shy". However, they all allowed me to take notes.

All of the senior women, except one, were interviewed at their offices, the exception invited me for a ²³"high tea" in a local restaurant. Each session lasted 60-90 minutes. Two of senior women were interviewed twice because we agreed that some of the issues in the first interview needed to be followed up further.

Ten out of eighteen junior managers were interviewed at their work places. The remaining eight women were interviewed over the telephone.

3.5.5 Interviews with key informants

The sample of key informants was purposive and not necessarily representative. I interviewed a total of 10 key informants. (Positions of key informants is detailed in appendix 3F). Two of the face to face interviews were tape-recorded. Written notes were made during telephone interviews. Key informant interviews were especially useful in supplementing the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews, focus group and survey.

²³In Pakistan, tea is popular all over the country and holds an integral significance in local culture. High teas are common at hotels and restaurants, and are usually buffet-style meals with light snacks.

3.5.6 Process of conducting focus group discussion

The focus group discussion was scheduled at the conference lunch break time and lasted approximately one hour. It took place in a faculty lounge adjacent to the conference hall. The focus group participants were interested in the topic and considered this as an opportunity to discuss issues that were important for them. I acted as a facilitator and guided the discussion on the subject matter, probed and encouraged discussion, and ensured that all participants contributed their views. I tape recorded the discussion.

3.6 Ethical Issues

According to Robson (2002:18) carrying out research ethically, ‘means that you follow a code of conduct for the research which ensures that the interests and concerns of those taking part in the research are safeguarded’. “All social research gives rise to a range of ethical issues around privacy, informed consent, anonymity, being truthful and desirability of research” (Blaxter et al., 2001: 158). Cohen et al. (2011: 442) suggest that “it is difficult to lay down hard and fast ethical rules in interviewing, however, it is possible to raise some ethical questions which revolve around informed consent, confidentiality and the consequences of the interviews”.

This study followed the guiding principles set by the British Educational Research Association (BERA). Initially, I obtained permission from the Institute of Education Research Ethics Committee to conduct the interviews. I received informed consent prior to commencing the interviews and assured participants that their responses would be confidential and that they would be anonymous in my report. I also explained the purpose of the study. (See Appendix 3E)

In the analysis, I addressed issues of confidentiality by removing the participants’ personal identities. Data were kept confidential in keeping with guidelines for best practice by Oliver (2003). I took care to avoid including any personal information about participants, or use any evidence which may have made it possible to identify them. I used pseudonyms so that participants could not be identified.(See Appendix 3G). This was necessary because many people know, for instance, which university was the oldest in the province and which was the newest.

I kept the collected data in very secure conditions. The computer on which data were stored is password protected. On the successful completion of the study I wiped the audiotapes and destroyed the paper work.

3.6.1 Insider Research

The participants in the study were senior and junior women in management positions working in Pakistani universities. I also have a management position in a Pakistani university. Many participants knew me as a former university colleague. Some of the junior officers had been my students. It was therefore important that I did not use my own position in university management to influence their responses. I also had to be aware, having been an officer in a sample university with a first-hand knowledge of the working of universities, and having strong opinions and beliefs about the organizational and family factors influencing women's career progression of not allowing this to influence my analysis. I needed to avoid my preconceived ideas creating bias (Robson, 2002). I had to be extra vigilant to both the possible threats and the benefits of my position. The perspective that I brought from having been 'inside' was meaningful and could also boost validity of the research but I also needed to acknowledge the difference between my participants' views and my personal perceptions (Griffiths, 1998).

3.7 Data Analyses

3.7.1 Quantitative data analysis

After the completion of the survey it was necessary to report the findings in a meaningful form so that trends emerging from the data could be seen (Cohen, et al., 2011). For the purpose of this research frequency distributions, graphs, charts, tables were considered the most appropriate to display the numeric data in a graphical format to make it easier to understand and compare different sets of data (Connolly, 2007; Cooper and Shore, 2010; Bryman, 2004). I used the advanced charting and graphing features in Microsoft Office Word and Excel and used the basic table, graph and chart structures.

3.8 Qualitative Data Analyses

3.8.1 Thematic analysis and content analysis

Thematic analysis and content analysis are two commonly used approaches in qualitative data analysis (Greg, 2012). They are often used interchangeably and it is often difficult to differentiate between them (Vaismoradi, et al., 2013). The main difference lies in

opportunities offered for the quantification of data. For example, thematic analysis focuses on meaning and promotes a systematic and rigorous interpretation (Greg, 2012) while content analysis employs predefined mutually exclusive categories to count the frequency of a theme (Vaismoradi, et al., 2013).

3.8.2 Importance of thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a technique for identifying, analyzing, and searching for themes and patterns to identify any recurring themes particularly associated with the research questions (Broun and Clark, 2006; Bryman, 2001). A theme is a cluster of linked categories conveying similar meanings and usually emerges through the inductive analytic process which characterizes qualitative research (Greg, 2012). Cohen et al. (2011) suggest that analysts move to and fro between new concepts and the data as they develop the themes. In thematic analysis the task of the researcher is to identify a limited number of themes which adequately reflect their textual data and the required level of analysis adequately (Tuckett, 2005).

3.8.3 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is frequently used for analyzing qualitative data and interpreting its meaning (Schreier, 2012). As a research method, it represents a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena adding trustworthiness to the findings. (Ibid). The trustworthiness of qualitative content analysis is often presented by using terms proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) such as “credibility, dependability, conformability, transferability, and authenticity”. Schreier, (2012) described trustworthiness for the main qualitative content analysis phases from data collection to the reporting of the results including the preparation, organization, and reporting of results.

A prerequisite for successful qualitative content analysis is that data can be reduced to concepts that describe the research phenomenon by creating categories, concepts, or conceptual maps (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). In qualitative content analysis, the abstraction process is the stage during which concepts are created. From the perspective of validity, readers should be able to clearly follow the analysis and resulting conclusions (Schreier, 2012). Qualitative content analysis can be used in either an inductive or a deductive way.

In the inductive approach, the organization phase includes coding, creating categories, and abstraction (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008).

3.8.4 Coding

The process of coding is the key element of qualitative data analysis (Bird, 2005; Gibbs, 2007; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Flick, 2009; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Coding can be performed on many forms of data (Cohen et al., 2011) and involves reviewing interview transcripts and labeling parts of theoretical significance, (Bryman, 2004).

There is no general consensus about exactly how to do coding, although it is agreed that it involves moving from generating codes that relate closely to the data towards more abstract conceptualizations (Strauss and Corbin, 2008; Bryman, 2004). Strauss and Corbin (1996) and Cohen et al. (2011) describe four stages of coding: Open Coding: a new label that the researcher creates for identifying initial categories of information; Analytic coding which is more interpretive rather than descriptive (an analytic code might derive from the theme or topic (Gibbs, 2007:45); Axial Coding which is a procedure for interconnecting the categories of information (Strauss and Corbin, 1996); and Selective Coding which identifies the core categories of text data (Cohen et al., 2011) producing a discursive set of theoretical propositions (Strauss and Corbin, 1996).

I utilized thematic analysis in my qualitative data analysis searching for patterns and themes rigorously. This approach is supported by Ezzy, (2002) and Bernard, (2010) who argue that thematic analysis requires a rigorous interpretation. It is more than just considering explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit themes within the data (Mayring, 2000).

Further, for the quantification of my data I counted the frequency of responses for a particular theme. (Vaismoradi, et al., 2013). This is also suggested by Cohen et al. (2011). The highest quality studies use both qualitative and quantitative analysis. I followed this technique meticulously. My method of analysis was driven by both my research questions and my theoretical assumptions (See chapter 1). Holloway and Todres (2003) argue that what is important is choosing a method that is appropriate to your research questions rather than falling victim to “*methodolatry*”. Many of the disadvantages of

qualitative research relate to poorly conducted analyses or inappropriate research questions rather than the method itself.

3.8.5 The process of ‘Thematic Analyses’ in the study

Following the guidance for qualitative data analysis, suggested by many researchers (Strauss and Corbin, 1996; Bryman, 2012; Cohen et al., 2011; Weber, 1990), I completed my analysis in the following phases:

3.8.6 Familiarization with the data

Data familiarization is key to thematic analysis. It is therefore important for researchers to not only collect interview data but also to transcribe it themselves (Bryman, 2012). At a very initial stage, while I was collecting my data, I prepared an interview summary daily as soon as possible after each interview. This also included practical details about the time and place, the participants, the duration of the interview or focus group and details about the content and emerging themes. This helped when I finally came to analyse my data. During the interviews a process of memo-writing was also helpful in moving from focused codes to conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2006).

I transcribed the interview data into written form in order to conduct a thematic analysis. The process of transcription was an excellent way to start familiarizing myself with the data (Cohen et al., 2011; Riessman, 1993). I developed a far more thorough understanding of my data through having transcribed it myself.

3.8.7 Coding and categorization

Having read and familiarized myself with the data and generated an initial list of ideas, I then developed initial codes. Before beginning the analysis, I made multiple electronic copies of interview transcripts and the focus group discussion. I marked with a highlighter (electronically) all descriptions that were relevant to the topic of research and research questions. From the highlighted areas, I marked each distinct unit of meaning. Once I had done this, I began the more formal coding process. However, coding continued to be developed and refined throughout the entire analysis.

I coded transcripts using the coding process as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998; 2008) and Cohen et al. (2011) and coded manually. The coding process can vary. Some

analysts make codes for every two or three lines of text (Cohen et al., 2011). I did not assign codes to paragraphs, but to phrases, parts of phrases or even to words to guarantee detailed coding. While coding manually, I coded my data by writing notes on the texts and by using electronic highlighters to indicate potential themes. Before I began my formal coding I read through the entire data set closely, line by line, to identify possible themes as this phase provided the foundation for the rest of the analysis. This also promoted open coding. During the first reading I made notes of major themes as they emerged in order to acquire a sense of the various topics rooted in the data. At this stage, themes began to emerge. I developed codes, labels, words and phrases from the transcripts for as many potential themes as possible. At this stage I kept the codes as simple as possible to assist in flexibility in the categorization process (Initial thematic map, showing Analytic Coding is presented in appendix 3H)

In the second phase, I attached conceptual labels to the interview transcripts to capture what had been said. These labels corresponded closely to the interviews as I took them from the participant's own words, and statements. As this process was completed, I had a large number of codes. I then began to think about the relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes. To categorize general themes that appeared repeatedly during the interviews I developed subthemes and put similar subthemes together. In this way I was able to create themes by grouping codes and labels given to words (Axial coding) (See a thematic map showing relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes in appendix 3.I).

The last and fourth coding phase was more focused. Here I chose the most important codes to represent the interviewee's thoughts. After coding each subtheme I created a word file for initial main themes. To identify the core categories emerging from the interview data, I reread all of the themes as a whole to make overall sense of the interview transcripts. Many themes were similar so I combined some and re-labeled them finalizing the final construction of each theme. At the end of this process seven main themes had emerged (selective coding). A framework outlining the final seven overarching themes and sub-themes and categories which resulted from this process is presented in Appendix 3.J.

3.8.8 Establishing the importance of each theme

In the final stage, I undertook a simple frequency count of the number of women who referred to each theme. This analysis meant that I could calculate the percentage of women who referred to each theme and compare the different factors affecting the participating women's career progression in the universities of Pakistan.

3.8.9 Presentation of the Themes

After categorizing the qualitative data, I counted the number of responses in each theme and then presented the frequency and percentage of each category in tables, charts and graphs. Each theme was presented with a brief description and examples from the interviews as evidence of its content. These are set out in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

It has been noted that values and their underlying motivations may not be easily accessible through research (Cohen et al., 2007). Careful selection of appropriate methods for inquiry was therefore important (Ibid). The issue for my research was whether the mixed methods adopted (semi-structured interviews with respondents and key informants, a focus group discussion and a quantitative survey) were appropriate for meeting the aims of the research.

Interviews were the main source of data, and interpretation and coding were the main techniques of analysis. According to Schwandt (2001) an account is judged to be reliable if it is capable of being replicated by another inquirer. However, "opinion is divided among qualitative researchers over whether this criterion has any meaning whatsoever in judging the accuracy of fieldwork accounts" (p. 262).

I was aware that when qualitative research is conducted in local languages sometimes the analysis process is not described adequately, in particular the impact of the translator in the research process needs consideration. A few of the participants used a mix of English and Urdu during the interviews. They tended to describe important concepts in English. I was familiar with both of the languages used and did the translation myself. Therefore there was little risk of misinterpretation and misunderstanding. Mangan, (1999) suggests that the risk of misinterpretation, misunderstanding, and loss of a respondent's intended meaning is high unless the translator is familiar enough with the dialect to convey

conceptual equivalence. Tolhurst et al. (2004) acknowledged that some researchers devise their own ways of assuring data quality, analysing data in the local language using translated summaries of relevant text extracts (Birbili, 2000).

To assure and increase the validity of the findings, an interview transcription and summary was prepared and sent to three of the senior participants, who confirmed that the transcription and interpretation of the data was accurate. I also shared samples of coded interviews with two colleagues. Discussion with both colleagues confirmed my coding. This checking strategy was utilized as an additional step to ensure the validity of the data collected. I and another colleague independently analyzed the data to check for validity and reliability in the emergent themes, categories, and frequency rankings. A colleague with expertise in qualitative data analysis was also asked for comments as items were coded, categories were defined, and findings were developed. She independently reviewed the overarching themes in addition to the statements taken from the individual interview transcripts to determine the appropriate categorical placement for each. These checks showed agreement in terms of theme content.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed and summarized the methodological framework for carrying out this study. It identified the primary components of the study, including the research strategy, study design, and strategies for data collection, management and analysis. A mixed methods approach was adopted to ensure that the complexity of the different factors influencing women's career progression was captured. This approach gave me the opportunity to interact with very senior and more junior women working in high management positions providing firsthand information and detailed insights into the personal experiences of the participants during each interview. I adopted measures to ensure data reliability and validity. The data collected and analyzed provided the evidence for the findings reported in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

Gender balance in senior management positions in the universities where the interviewees were employed and the demographic characteristics of the interviewees

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section results of the data from the survey of universities where the participating interviewees were working are presented. These show the proportion of women in those universities who were occupying senior and junior management positions as compared to men, working as officers on the Basic Pay Scales (BPS) 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 in the eight sample universities. The data gathered was intended to enable the researcher to investigate the following research question:

What is the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities of the women participating in the research?

The findings presented in this section demonstrate a considerable gender gap in all management positions within these universities.

Section II provides a brief profile of the demographic characteristics of the participants. The purpose of this section was to provide the reader with key background information on each participant. The information provides a context to assist with the interpretation of the qualitative data that was the focus of this study. As reported in chapter 3, 48 women officers of Grades 17 to 22 participated in the research working in junior and senior management positions. At the beginning of each interview a questionnaire was completed with information about the individual and family, work- related background characteristics, and job attributes.

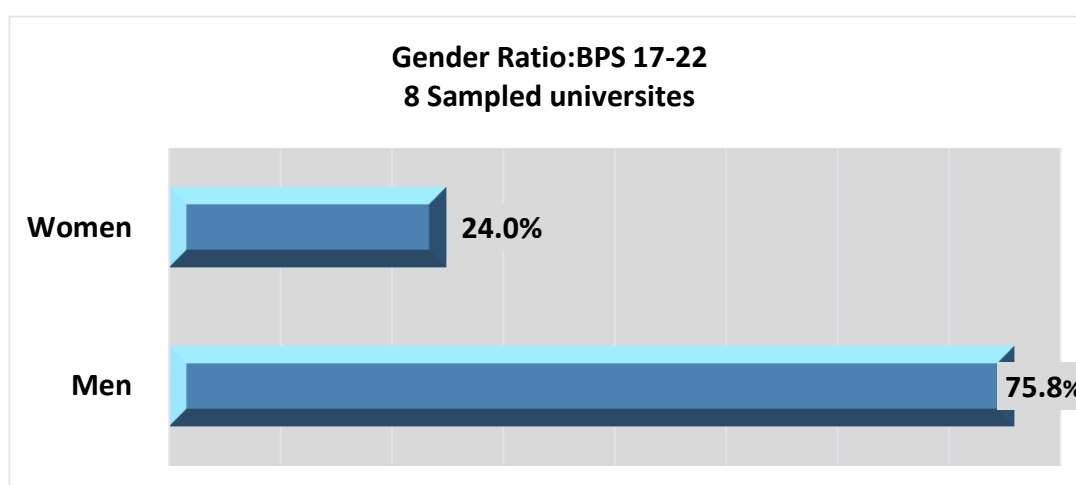
Both the gender based distribution of management positions and demographic profile of the participants were analyzed and presented using frequency tables and percentages. Bar charts and pie charts were used to present the data.

Section I

4.1.1 Presentation and analysis of the survey: Gender based distribution of management positions among universities where the interviewees were employed

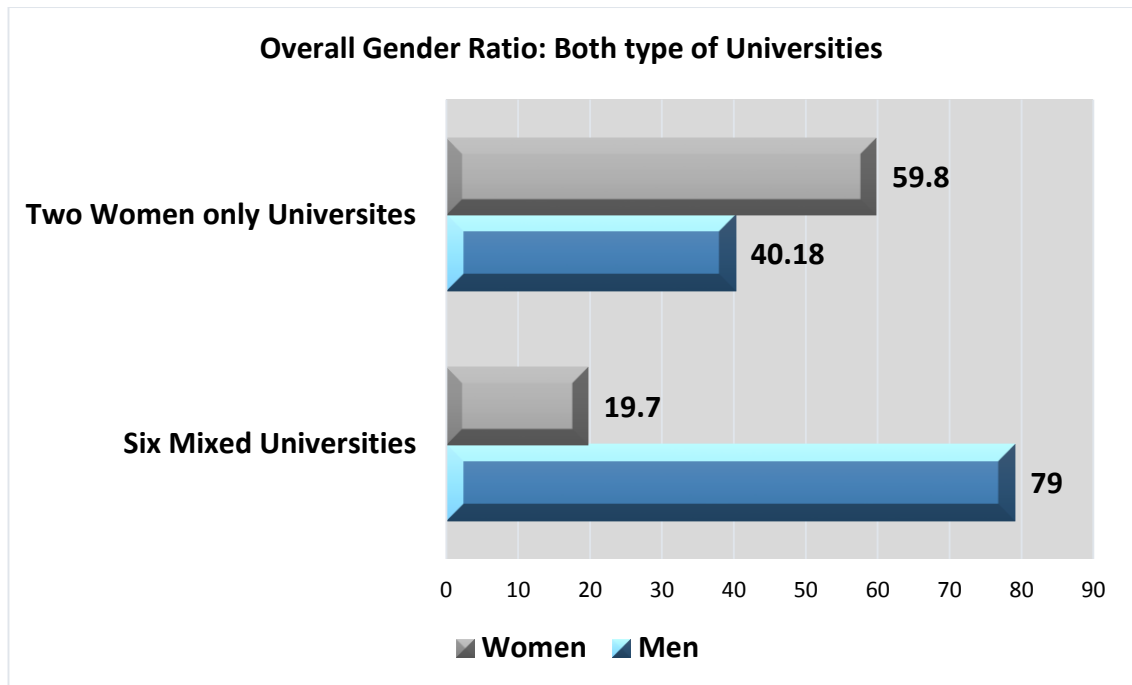
The analysis of the data to establish the gender ratio of management positions in the universities where the interviewees worked revealed only a small proportion of women in senior management positions. Figure 4.1 represents the overall gender-based distribution of officers working in PBS 17-22. The data revealed that in all management positions there were fewer women than men. For example the women accounted for 24.8 percent (238) of the total 987 management positions in all basic pay scales (BPS, 17-22), as compared to men who made up 75.8 percent (749) of all categories.

Figure 4.1 Overall gender based distribution of university management working in BPS 17 to 22 in the eight sample universities in 2011



The proportion of women, 24.0% percent dropped to 19.7 percent when data from the six mixed universities were analysed alone. There was a total of only 174 women as compared to 696 (79%) men. However, in the women only universities they formed a higher proportion 59.8 percent (64) of a total of 107 compared to the men who made up 40.18 percent (43) (See figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Overall gender based distribution of university management working in BPS 17 to 22 separately, in the two women only universities and six mixed Universities in 2011



When the data are compared between mixed and women only universities, women hold a total of 25 per cent of most senior positions, for instance, vice- chancellors of the universities appointed at BPS 22 (figure 4.3). These were only found in the women only universities where they constituted 100 percent (See figure 4.4).

Figure 4.3 Basic Pay Scale and gender based distribution of university management (17 to 22) in the eight public sector universities of Pakistan in 2011

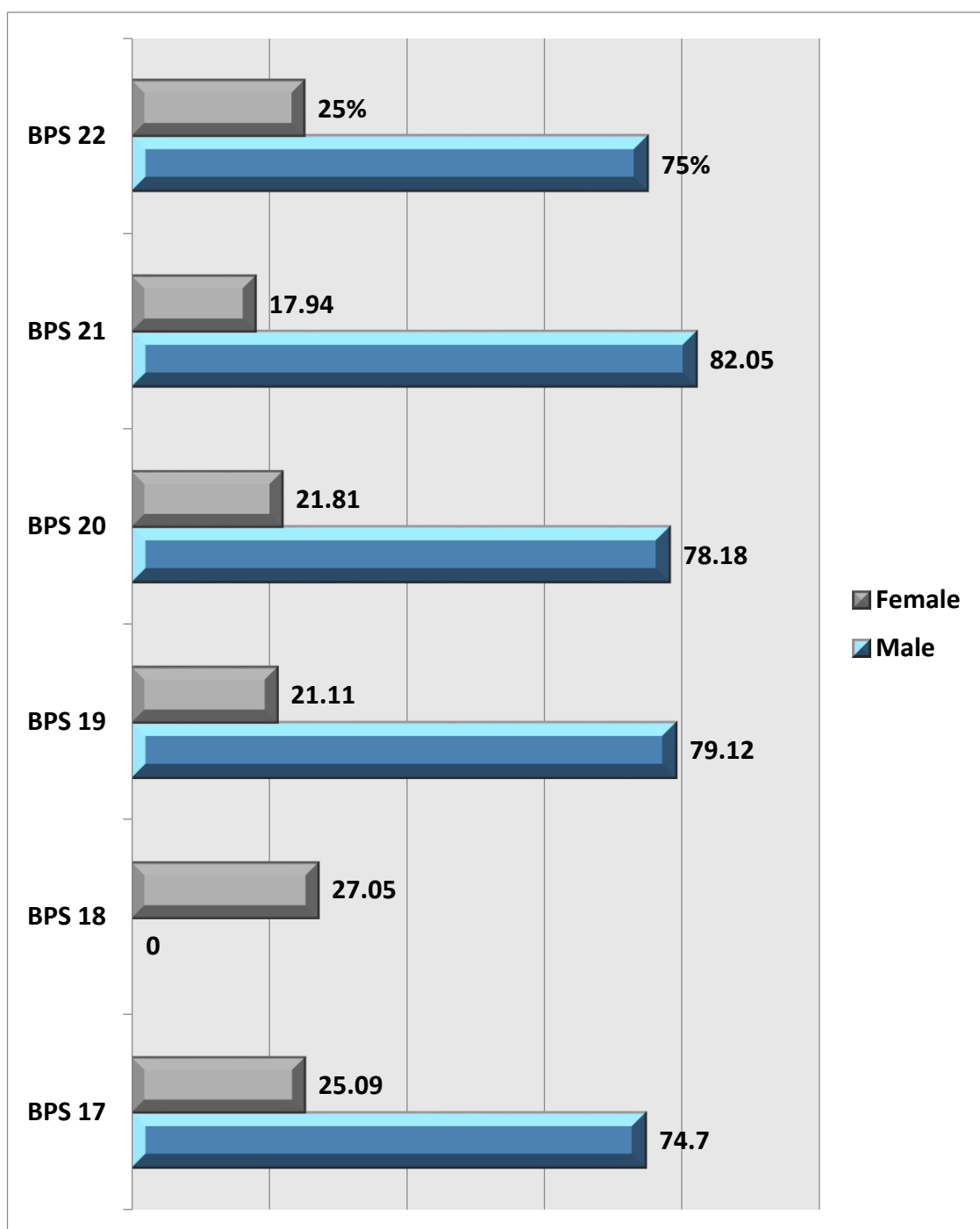
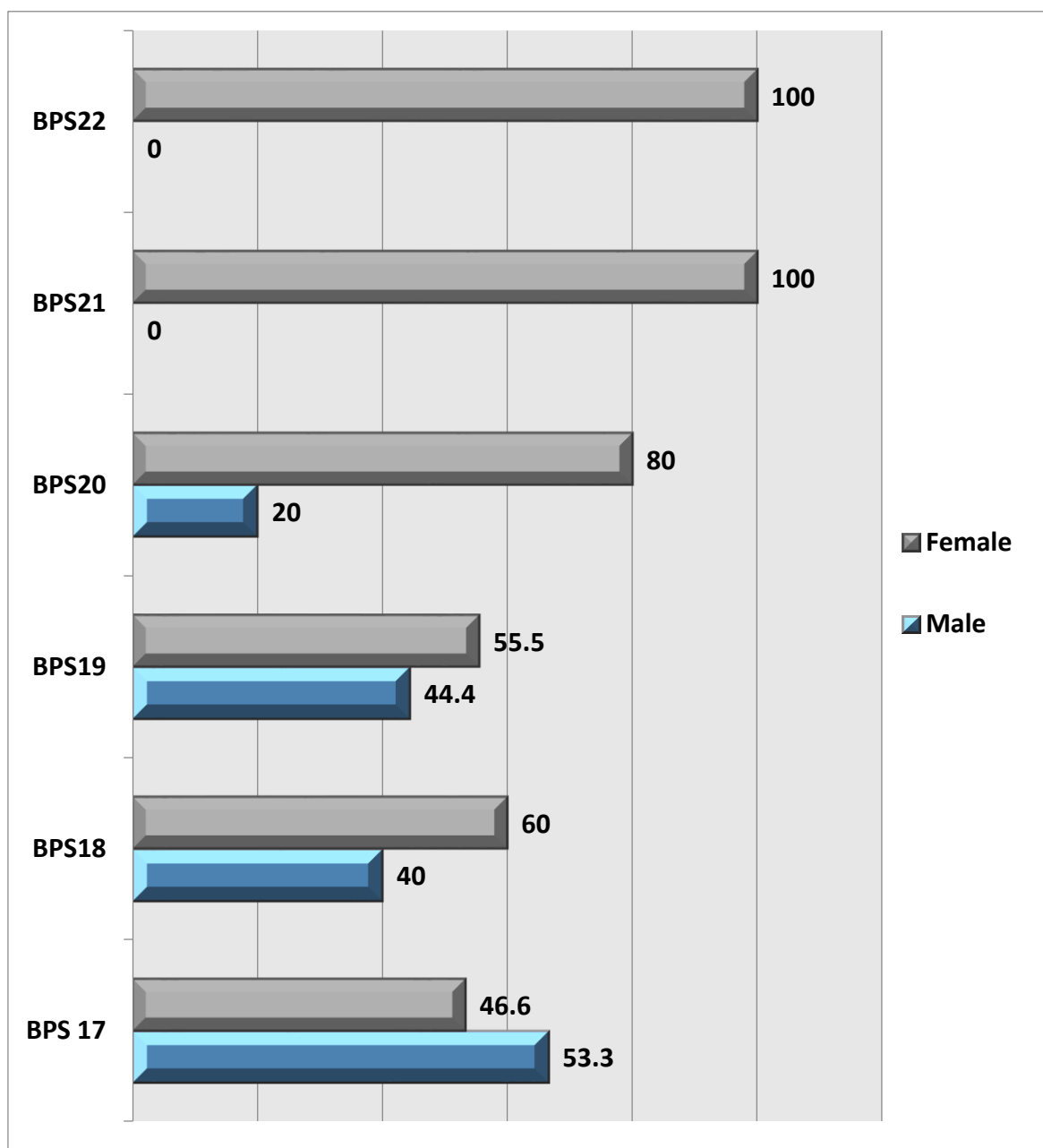
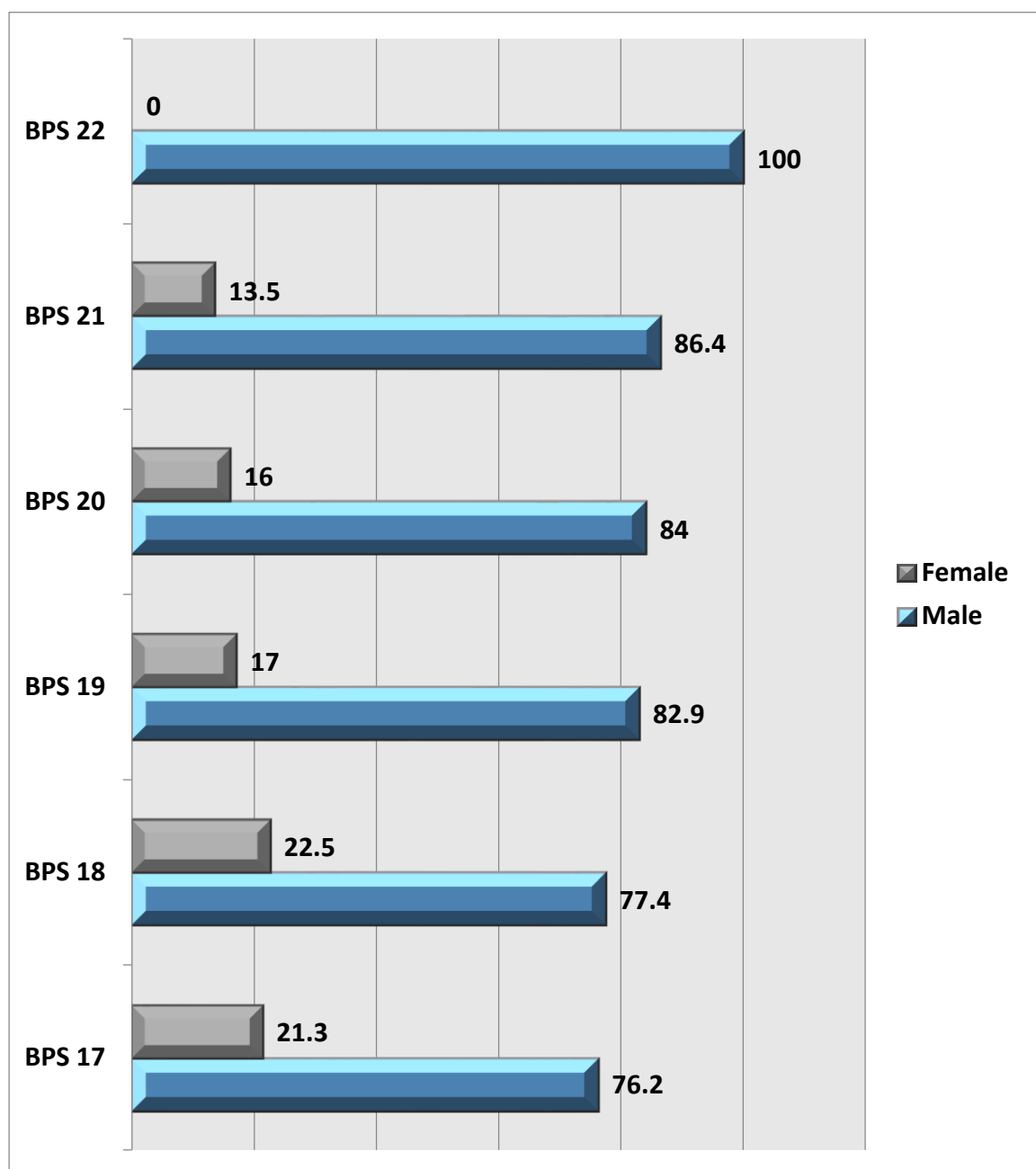


Figure 4. 4 Overall gender based distribution of university management working in BPS 17 to 22 in two women only university Universities in 2011



The data indicated that the mixed universities had all male vice-chancellors. In the six mixed universities women held the position of, dean, director of institution, and head of department working at BPS 21. The proportion was about 13.5 percent compared to that of male colleagues 86.4 percent. In relation to BPS 19 and 20 the situation was almost the same with women holding 17 percent and 16 percent of positions in contrast to the men who made up 82.9 percent and 84 percent respectively (figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Basic Pay Scale and gender based distribution of university management working in BPS 17 to 22 in six mixed Universities in 2011

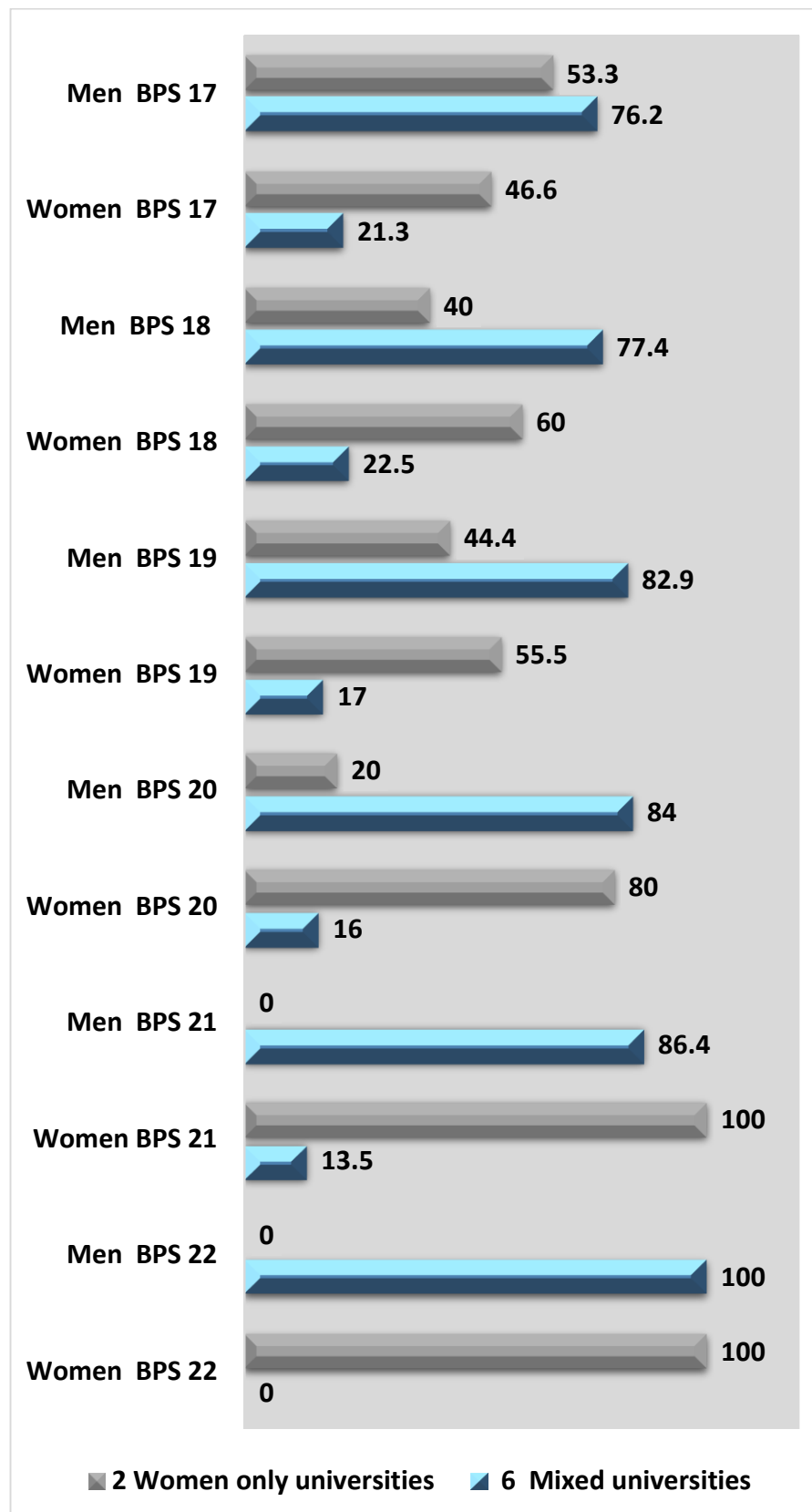


In the women only universities, women, overall, held more senior positions (see figure 4.4) but men still held a high proportion. Men formed the majority at pay scale 17 (53.3%) compared to women (46.6%) in the women only universities where women are assumed to be greater in numbers. Although, in BPS 18 (40%) and 19 (44.4%) there were fewer men than women (60% and 55.5% respectively). However, this differences was not so

marked as the differences between men and women in the mixed universities (see figure 4.4).

In the eight universities where the participating women were employed the proportion of women in management positions varied from 25 percent to 27 percent for BPS 17 and 18 (see figure 4.3). Women's representation in junior management positions was slightly better than at the higher grade levels but they were fewer than men. Holden & McCarthy (2007) also suggest that these positions are not considered as being positions of power. Whatever the reasons, these data reflect a more general trend with more women being appointed to more management positions than in the past (ACU, 2002). Figure 4.6 summarizes the gender-based distribution of the research participants' positions in mixed and women only universities.

Figure 4.6 Summary of gender ratio of management positions among two women only and six mixed universities



The appendices 4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E, and 4F present details of the gender based distribution of the women's employment grades in the women only and mixed universities with reference to each of the basic pay scales, the total number of employees, and the numbers and percentages of male and female employees.

Section II

This section sets out the demographic characteristics of the interviewees.

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants

The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants which were collected included:

- a) personal information including age, academic experience, marital status, and earning status (single earner/dual earner).
- b) A description of the family including the family system (joint/nuclear), with or without children, age groups of children and number of other dependants.
- c) work- related background characteristics include professional experience, designations, and standard office hours.

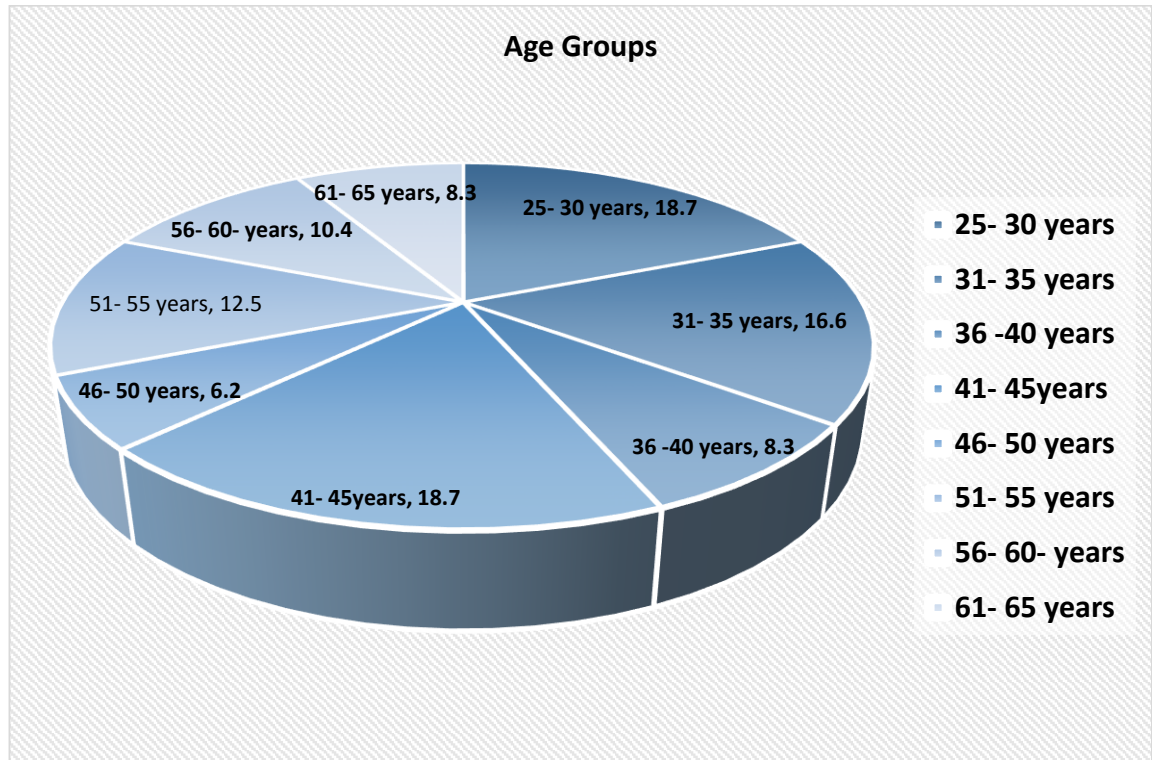
Data relating to each of these will be presented in the following sections.

4.2.1 Personal Information

a) Age group

The sample comprised women from a range of different ages working in senior and junior management positions. 18.7 percent of participants were between the ages of 25-30 years, 16.6 percent between 31-35 years of age, 8.3 percent between 36 and 40 years of age, 18.7 percent between the ages of 41 and 45 years, 6.25 percent between the ages of 46-50 years, 12.5 percent between 51-55 years and 10.4 percent between the ages 56 and 60. 8.3 percent were between 61 and 65 years (see Figure 4.7). The largest groups were of those between 25 to 30 years old and 41 to 45 years of age.

Figure 4.7 Age Groups of the Participants in the Study N=48

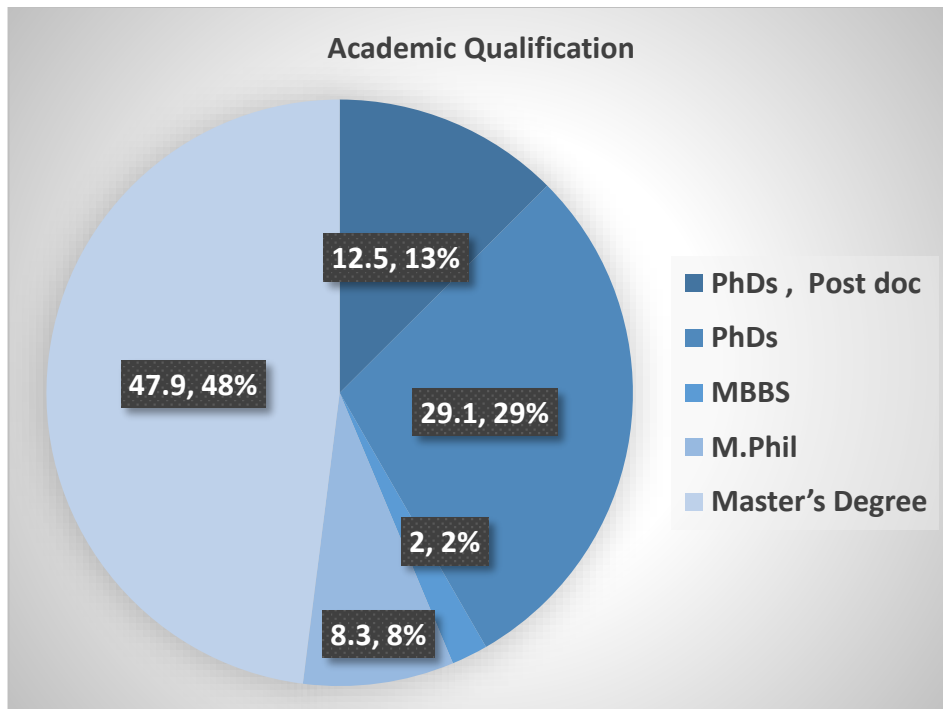


b) Academic experience

Considering the educational level of the participants almost 30 percent had a doctorate (29.1%). 12.5 percent had held a post-doctoral position. These data show that the participants possessed the necessary academic qualifications and were duly qualified to hold the positions of power that they were holding in university management. Only one participant had a MBBS (2.0%) degree. She had changed her profession from being in medicine to higher education (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 also shows that majority of the participants (47.9%) had a Master's degree with 8.3 percent women having an M.Phil. Degree. None of the participants' highest qualification was a Bachelor's degree. This indicates that the minimum requirement for the posts they held required a Master's degree and the participants met this prerequisite.

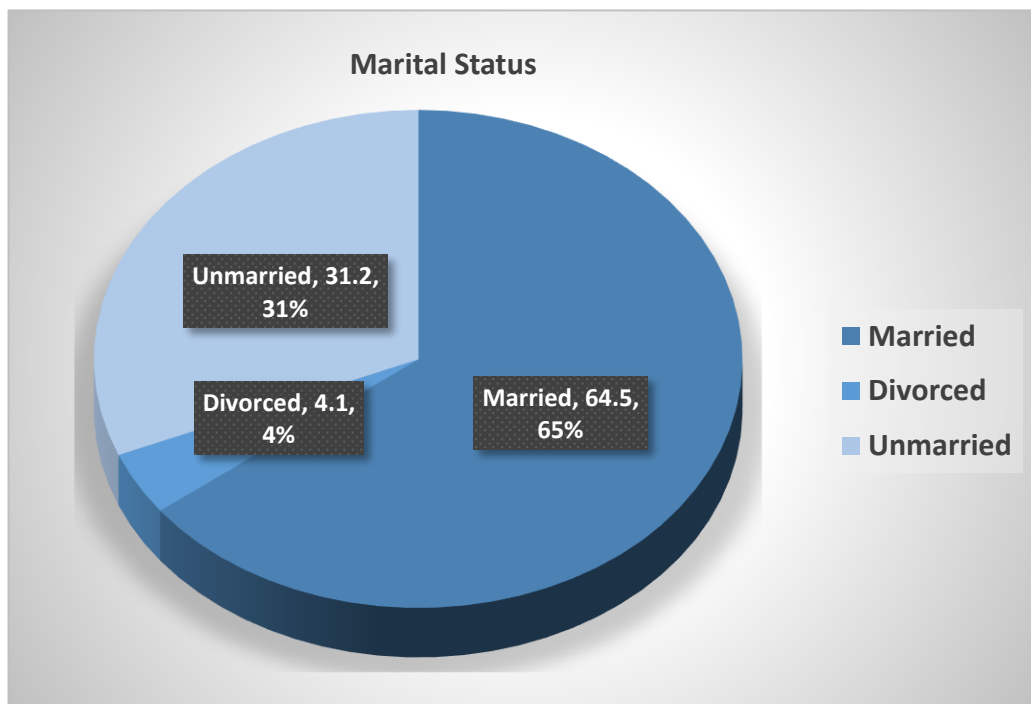
Figure 4.8 Academic Qualification of the Participants=48



c) **Marital status**

The data relating to marital status showed that 65 percent of the participants were married out of which 4 percent were divorced, with 31 percent unmarried/single (see figure 4.9). The unmarried women were living with their parents and shared home responsibilities.

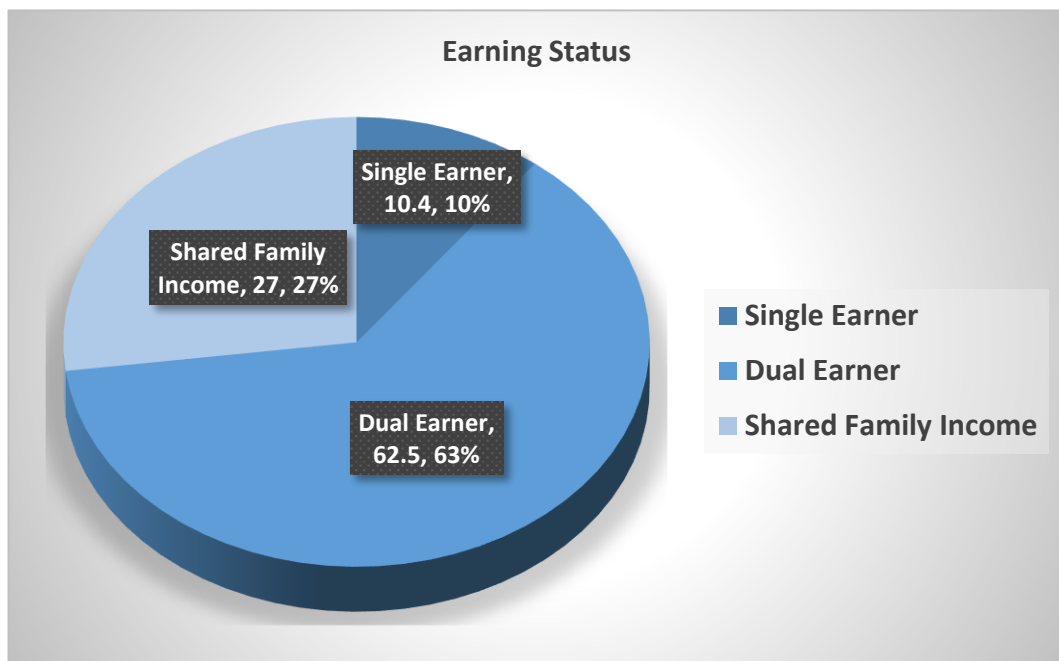
Figure 4.9 Marital Status of the Senior Participants N=48



d) Earning status

Sixty three percent of participants reported themselves as being in a dual earner family. Among the 10 percent of participants who reported themselves as single earners, 4 percent were divorced and were living with their children (see Figure 4.10). The 27 percent of participants, who reported themselves as having a shared family income were living with their parents, brothers, and sisters. Among them, four women, reported assisting with the family business. Household income tended to be equally utilized by all family members.

Figure 4.10: Earning Status of the Senior Participants N=48



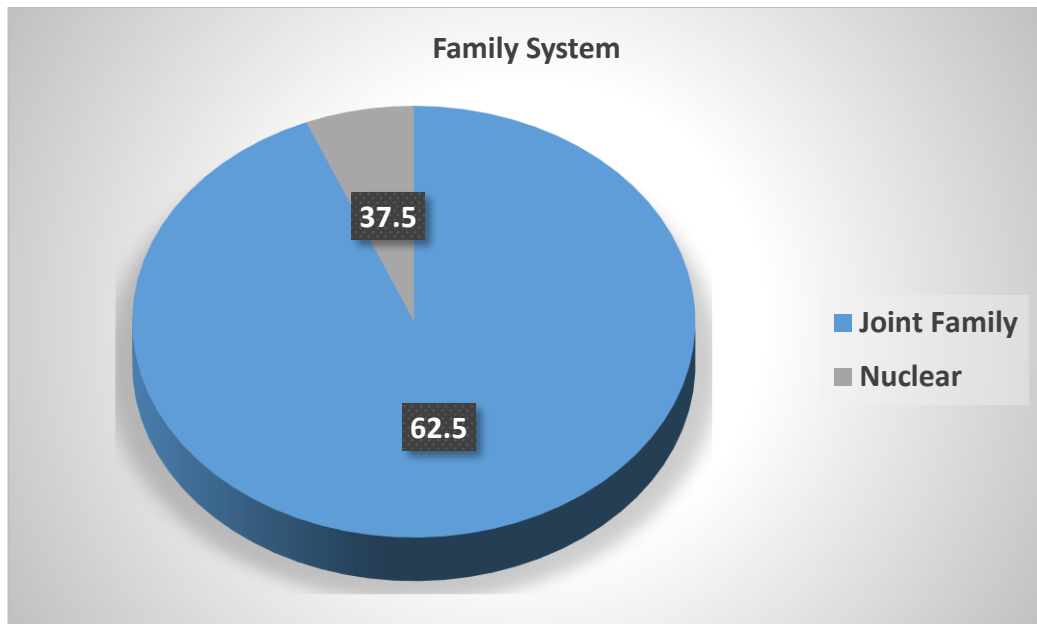
4.2.2 Description of Family

Figures 4.11 to 4.13 show the characteristics of the participants' family systems in relation to their children, the age group of children, and the number of dependants.

a) Family System

The majority of the participants (62.5%) reported living in joint / extended family systems with their parents, sisters, brothers, and other family members. The remainder belonged to a nuclear family system (37.5%) (Figure 4.11).

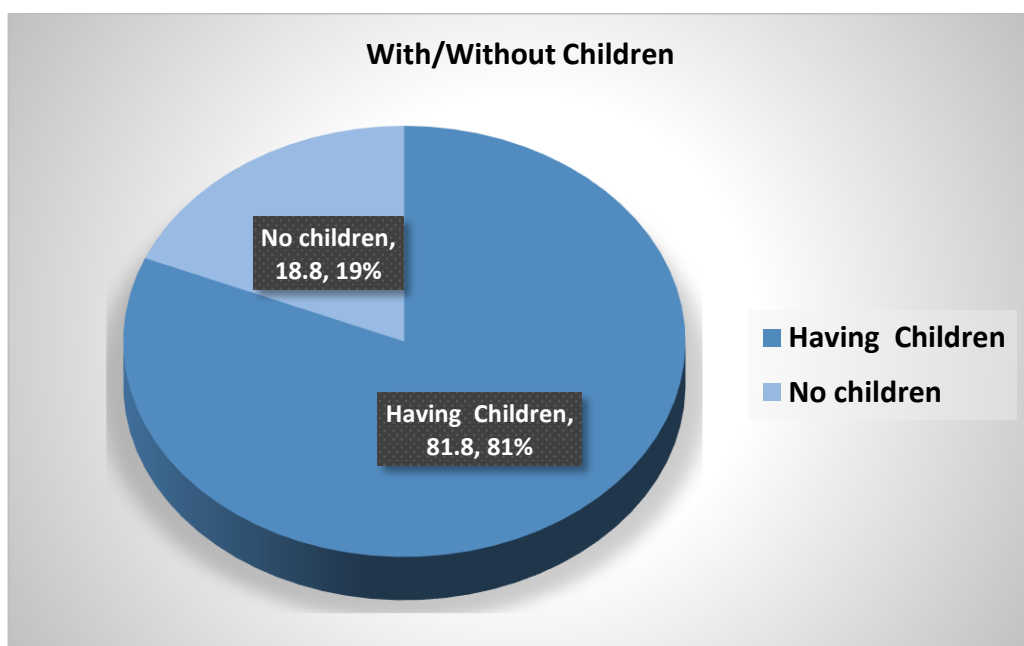
Figure 4.11 Family systems of the Participants N=48



b) Children

Of the 33 married participants, two were divorced. 81.8 percent had children and 18.8 percent had no children (figure 4.12). The proportion with no children was relatively small.

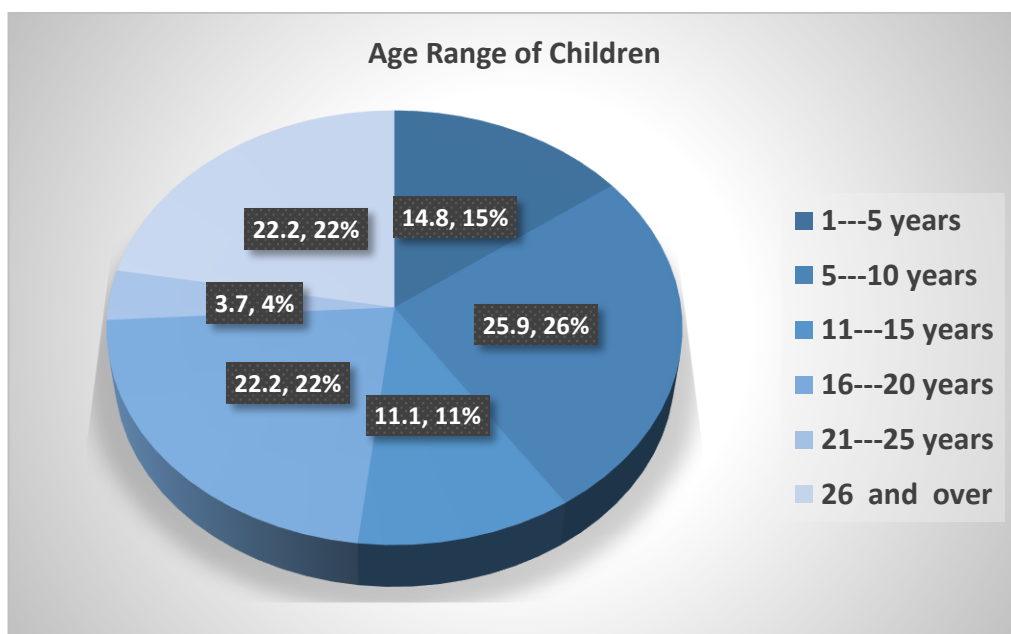
Figure 4.12 Proportion of the Participants with Children/without Children N=33



c) Age group of children

Figure 4.13 presents the proportion of children in each age range of the 27 married participants who reported having children. 14.8 percent of participants had children between the ages of 1-5 years old. 29.9 percent of participants had children aged between 5-10 years, 11 percent between 11-15 years, 22 percent between 16-20 years, and 3.7 percent children in the age group 21-25. Twenty-two percent had children of 26 years and over.

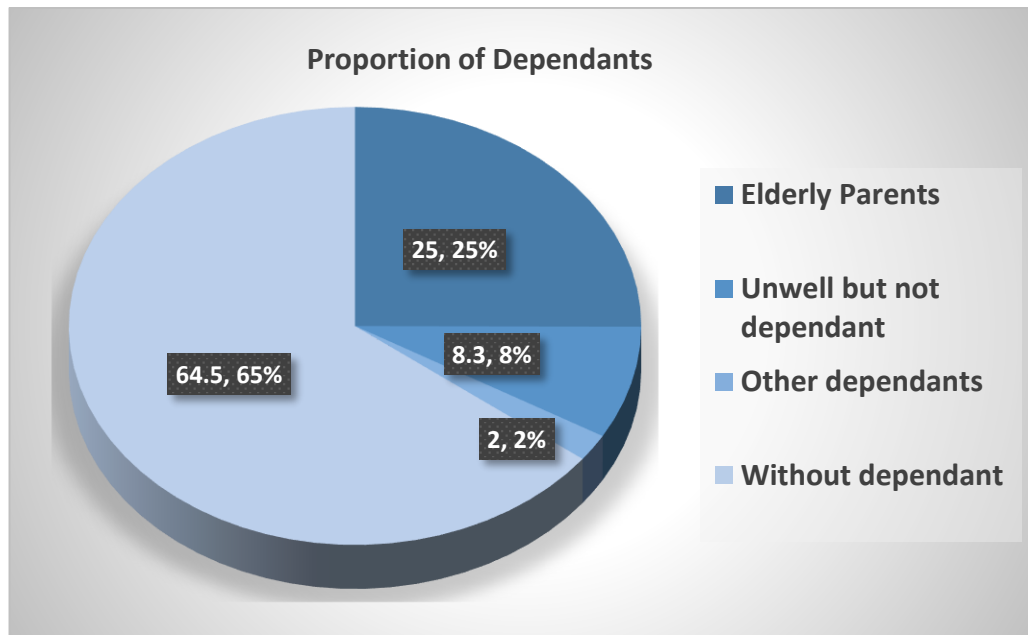
Figure 4.13 The Age range of Children of the Participants N=27



d) Dependant Family Members

Figure 4.14 presents the proportion of participants who reported that they were caregivers and indicates the number of participants that had dependants. The majority of this care was for family members. 25 percent of the sample reported providing regular care for their elderly parents and 8.3 percent were taking care of those who were unwell. Overall, the majority of the participants (64.5%) were not caregivers.

Figure 4.14 Dependants of the Participants N=48



4.2.3 Work- related background characteristics

a) Designations of the participants

As can be seen from Table 4.1 the participants occupied positions such as Dean of Faculty, Head of Department, Director of an Institute, Director of different university management departments, Chairperson of the Department, Treasurer, Registrar, Deputy Director and Deputy registrar. One woman was president of a psychological association as well.

Overall, the public universities surveyed seemed to have a higher percentage of women as directors of different university management departments (14.5%) or who occupied the positions of head of department (8.3%). 6.25 percent women were Dean of a Faculty. The percentage was the same as the Directors of Institutes. Among the Deans of Faculties one was Dean of the Faculty of Engineering & Technology and the other the Dean of the Faculty of Natural sciences, areas of study that are traditionally considered as the reserve of men. Both of these women deans were working in a women's only university. Their senior positions might therefore be credited to the segregated system of higher education of Pakistan. However there are some indicators of change in this perception at BPS 17 arising from the data (see the first part of this chapter tables 4.4.) where men were greater in number (53.3%) as compared to women (46.6%). Another woman who was the Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences was working in one of the mixed universities

The junior women occupied such positions as Assistant Registrar (8.3%) Assistant Treasurer (4.1%), Assistant Controller/Director Examinations (10.4%) Assistant Project Director (6.25%) and Administrative officer (2.0%) of different university departments. One woman was a research officer. Overall the public universities surveyed seemed to have a higher percentage of women as Assistant registrar and Assistant Controller of Examinations.

Table 4.1 The Designations/ Posts held by the Participants N=48

Designations	Frequency	Percentage
Dean of Faculty	3	6.25
Director of an Institute	3	6.25
Director of different university management departments	7	14.5
Chairperson of a Department	2	4.1
Head of Department	4	8.3
Treasurer	2	4.1
Registrar	2	4.1
In-charge of different management Departments	4	8.3
Deputy Director of different university management departments	3	6.25
Deputy registrar	1	2.0
Président of a Psychological Association	1	2.0
Assistant Registrar	4	8.3
Assistant Project Director	3	6.25
Assistant Controller/Director exam	5	10.4
Assistant Treasurer	2	4.1
Research Officers	1	2.0
Administrative officer	1	2.0
Total	48	100

b) Range of Professional Experiences

With regard to the professional experience of the participants, Figure 4.15 shows that the majority (27.0%) had worked in their university for a period of 5 to 10 years. 18.7 percent of the participants working in management positions had 16-20 years of administrative experience and 12.5 percent of women had 31-35 years' experience. The remaining 10.4 percent of the participants had 1-5 years of service in their respective universities.

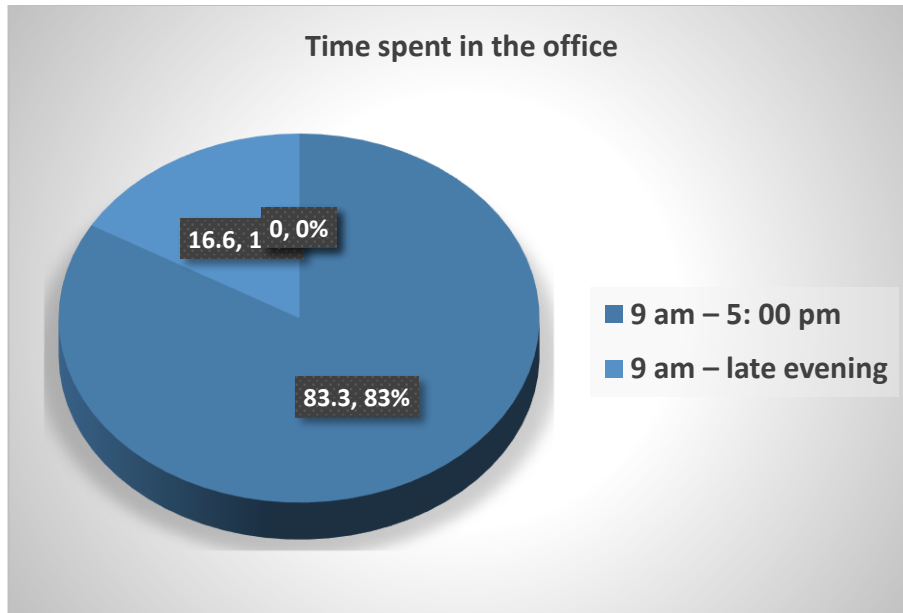
Figure 4.15: The range of professional experience of the participants N=48



c) Time spent in the office

Figure 4.16 indicates the amount of time the participants spent in their offices. The majority of the participants (83.3%) had standard hours of work to be spent on daily official activities from 9-0 am to 5-0 pm. 16.6 percent women reported working late in the evenings in relation to their senior administrative responsibilities. This also applied to a few of the junior participants, who had to work late when their senior bosses did so.

Figure 4.16 Time spent in the office N=48



4.3 Chapter Summary

The aim of the study was to identify the range of factors influencing women's careers in senior management positions in higher education. The gender distribution of management positions among the universities where the participants worked revealed that men outnumbered women in management positions. Women held relatively few management positions at all levels. The gender gap in management positions was similar to that reported globally (Catalyst, 2013). The women occupied almost none of the most senior management positions. Overall, they held 238 (24.8%) management positions whereas the men held 749 (75.85%). Women held more very senior positions in the women only universities than in the mixed universities.

The participants in the study had a variety of family arrangements and were at different stages of their career, working in various management positions. They held a wide range of high level academic qualifications and had been in post for a different numbers of years. Most worked normal office hours, although a small number had to work late into the evening. The majority were married and lived in extended families. The majority had no caregiving obligations for family members. A small proportion had very small children. Most participants were in a dual earning family but some single respondents shared income with others in the household.

The following chapters address the research question, what major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational, and personal levels, to their advancement to senior management positions. The next chapter focuses on the familial factors the interviewed women described as constraints for their career success.

CHAPTER 5 FAMILIAL CONSTRAINTS

5.1 Introduction

In the research methodology chapter, the choice of mixed methods was explained as helping to answer the research questions in order to explore in depth the nature and extent of the familial, societal, organizational and personal factors that influence women being able to progress to senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan. The findings and analysis related to the first research question based on the quantitative data, the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities of the women participating in the research and demographical information about the study participants was presented in the previous chapter. The analysis of the qualitative data has focused on answering research questions 2, 3 and 4. A general inductive approach for qualitative data analysis was adopted to categorize the data into themes (Thomas, 2003). The themes were grouped into seven main themes. In the final chapter these are incorporated into an 'Indigenous Theoretical Model' of women's career progression in senior management positions in higher education (HE). The indigenous model was developed from the basic components of the Gender-Organization-System (Fagenson, 1990), the management route model (Van Eck et al., 1996), and Spillover Theory (Zedeck, 1992). Before presenting the model each of the following chapters will present the themes that emerged from the interviews in relation to each element of the research questions (familial, societal, organizational and personal). In relation to women's career progression the following seven main themes were identified:

- i) **Familial constraints** including the diversity of domestic situations and the main areas that have influenced women's careers in different ways.
- ii) **Societal constraints** based on patriarchal and social practices and cultural influences on women's career progression.
- iii) **Organizational constraints** found in organizational structures and organizational policies and environments.
- iv) **Personal constraints** including the factors that have hindered women's career progression, for instance, the perceived lack of personal and professional attributes of women themselves.
- v) **Social support** including the factors related to different sources of strength and inspiration as well as social, moral and financial support.

- vi) **Women's personal and professional attributes including** the positive ways in which women view themselves which contribute to their career progression
- vii) **Participant's experiences, priorities, personal strategies, and the assistance received** to cope with interface of work-family life

This chapter presents the analysis of the qualitative data relevant to the second research question: *“What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels, to their advancement to senior management positions?”* and deals with the first main theme ‘familial constraints’. This theme along with its sub-themes will be discussed in the following sections with illustrative examples taken from the data which explain the ways in which participants’ social role in their specific cultural context represented familial constraints and influenced their career life.

5.2 Family constraints

The study participants were asked about the nature and extent of their social roles at familial level, and were questioned as to whether that might have constrained their abilities to fully achieve their career goals. As shown in Figure 5.1, the participants acknowledged that they had faced challenges and constraints arising from cultural stereotypes regarding family roles in terms of:

- gender role stereotypes;
- house hold chores;
- the bearing and caring of children;
- elderly care responsibilities;
- family commitments;
- women's own choices relating to work and family; and
- women pressured not to work by their family members.

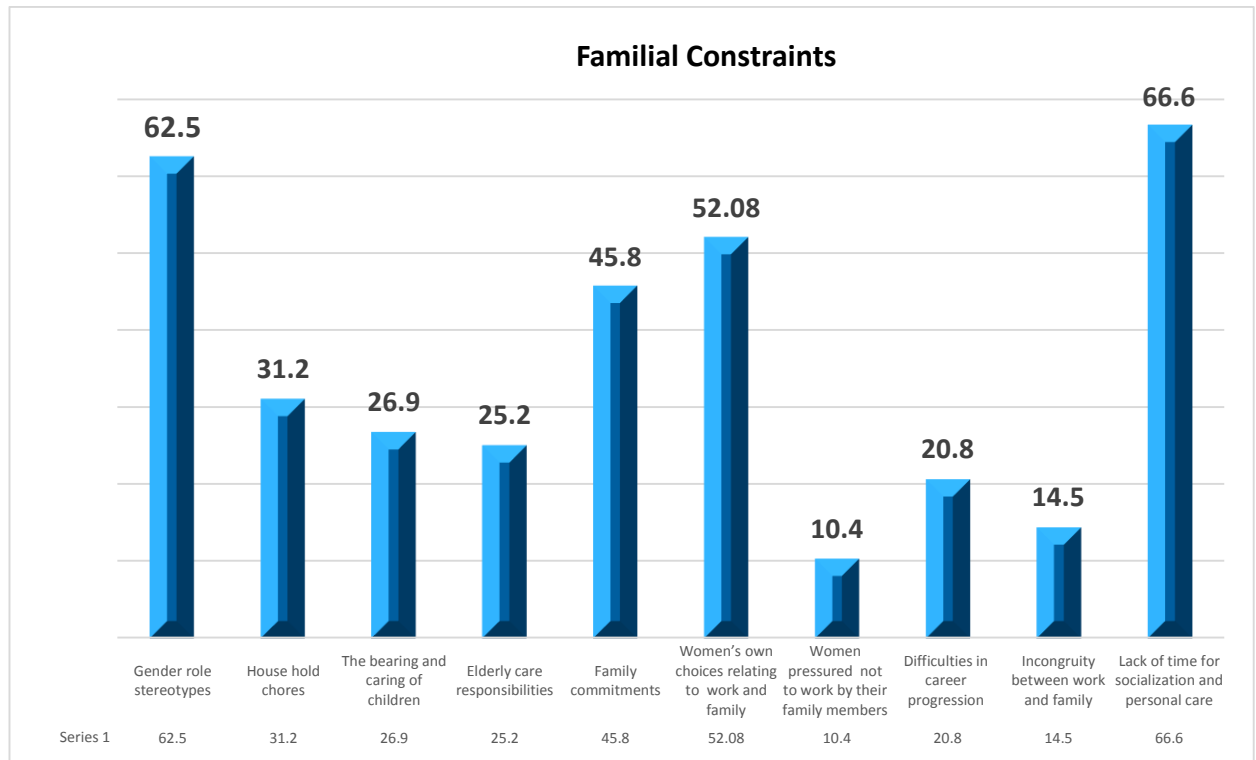
The effects of family constraints on women's lives:

- i) difficulties in career progression;
- ii) incongruity between work and family; and
- iii) lack of time for socialization and personal care.

Figure 5.1 presents the percentages of participants' responses relating to perceived familial constraints to their career progression (for the frequency of responses, see appendix 5A). The data revealed that most of the participants (62.5%) believed that

gender role stereotypes and family commitments (45.8%) delayed their progress to gaining senior management positions. Women's own choices (52 %) also played a significant role in this regard. However, comparatively few participants (14.58%) reported incongruity between work and family. Further details are given below.

Figure 5.1 Familial factors influencing women's career progression



5.2.1 Gender role stereotypes

As described earlier the second research question focused on the major challenges to women's career advancement to senior management positions. Much has been written on this topic as researchers have tried to understand the position of women regarding their social roles specifically in particular cultural contexts. According to role theory (Katz and Kahn, 1978), social roles can be explained as shared expectations about individuals who occupy particular social positions. A shared view suggests that the different positioning of men and women in the workplace is due to their different positioning in their social roles (Shaheen, 2000). Shah and Shah (2012, p.34) also assert that 'roles are socially constructed, be these domestic roles or public'. 'Gender stereotypes are cultural beliefs which comprise a set of social and behavioural norms and can be defined as the characteristics, attitudes, values and attitudes that society specifies as appropriate for the individual based on their gender' (Cleveland et al., 2000). 'Gender role stereotyping'

occurs when an individual is expected to follow those practices or behaviours that are endorsed by society (Celikten, 2005). Schein (2007) suggests that stereotypes about women and men regarding social roles are culturally and stereotypically identified as masculine or feminine and remain constant over time and between cultures.

In the study context, most of the participants (62.5%) indicated that the Pakistani culture led to beliefs about specific masculine or feminine roles. Role differences and identities were created by Pakistani society. This led to most men being disinclined to help with domestic activities in the home as they were raised to be unconcerned with domestic chores. They were taught from a young age that they were to be the breadwinners and caretakers of their families only. In addition, these beliefs contributed to the development of a similar mindset of the women as well. A few of the participants indicated that women themselves seemed to, unintentionally, encourage masculine identities in their male children and feminine identities in their female children:

“This is because we ourselves adopt common gender stereotypical practices in our culture, for example, we as a mother say to our son you are a boy so don’t do that [...] to our daughters you are a girl so don’t do that [...]. Developing male interests like games and managing outside tasks are likely to be encouraged in boys and playing with dolls inside home in girls. Boys are discouraged from cooking and serving [...] consequently, we have to bear the unfavorable consequences.” (Senior, Interviewee, 8)

A senior participant asserted that gender role stereotypes are deeply rooted in Pakistani culture and cannot be eliminated easily. For example, if men had gained qualifications abroad where Western culture encourages husbands to accept some home responsibilities, for a short period, a few of them were supportive of home responsibilities and more considerate. But over time they were influenced by cultural traditions and reverted to previous behaviors. She added that:

“After getting education from abroad, a husband in the initial months of his return says to his wife, sit down, rest, I will make tea for you. But with the passage of time when he observes that society practices differently then he becomes like others. His friends make him realize

what kind of funny things he is doing [...]. Society does not allow women to behave indifferently [...] in spite of demanding work responsibilities [...].She has to take care of all household tasks.”

(Senior Interviewee, 3)

It appeared that due to gender role stereotypes females and males were treated differently regarding domestic responsibilities. This led the female participants in the research to have double duties taking responsibility for household chores, the bearing and caring of children and elderly care responsibilities.

i.) Household chores

In response to the query about how participants would describe their contribution to household chores, they were also probed to indicate how often the male members of the household performed household tasks. Amongst the 31 percent of the participants who were solely responsible for the majority of household tasks, a senior married participant said:

“My husband never shares domestic responsibilities. Due to our cultural traditions, males are not groomed accordingly [...] the mindset has not changed. I never even thought about it. It was my routine work to deal with all home-related matters [...] although we both do shopping together, the main responsibility is mine to arrange everything at home. (Senior Interviewee, 21)

Further to this, a senior participant, though satisfied with her employment situation, commented on her perceptions of domestic responsibilities and indicated that in the Pakistani context men do not work in the kitchen, in home, whether they are husbands, brothers or sons. Women have to perform all household chores:

“[...] we do not expect Pakistani men to work in the kitchen and do laundry, however, it is not fair that they come from their jobs and then ask for food. You come from your job and then again are busy in the kitchen and doing other related tasks. (Senior Interviewee, 7)

The research revealed that some of the participants were continually engaged with household demands and family responsibilities despite the fact that they had employment outside of the home.

ii). Bearing and caring of children

Besides, household chores, the participants also remained continuously busy with other responsibilities. For example, 26.9 percent of the participants reported being primarily responsible for caring for their children. A junior participant said:

“I have to take a lot of time off to look after my children as my husband plays no role in this regard. He explicitly says this is your responsibility not mine to take care of the children and household.”

(Junior Interviewee, 47)

Most of the participants themselves accepted and believed that they were primarily obligated to devote their time and energy to their children. These were perceived as societal expectations which women had to cope with. In this regard a senior participant said:

“I also wouldn’t like my female subordinate to stay beyond office times in the evening. I understand their main responsibility would be to their family and children.” (Senior, Interviewee, 17)

She added:

“Biologically women have to bear and care for the child. Naturally, they have to take care of everyone at home. It cannot be avoided. (Senior Interviewee, 15)

One of the participants mentioned that due to childcare responsibilities, at times she could not maintain regular meal times. Indeed, she had her breakfast at 4pm when I approached her for the interview:

“I have no time for myself. In the morning, before coming to my office, I have to prepare my children for going to school. Due to time

constraints, I do not have proper time for my breakfast [...]. Ideally speaking, I should have finished my lunch by 1pm. You can imagine, I am eating my breakfast at 4 pm. I have reduced attending family activities if there were three days of a function. I used to attend only one day of the function just for the sake of saving face.”(Junior Interviewee, 29)

iii) Elderly care responsibilities

Regarding elderly care responsibilities, previous research has suggested that hours devoted to the care of dependants and other household responsibilities represent time away from work. The time spent on such responsibilities negatively affects career success (Bielby and William, 1988) because managing good care for elderly people in the family requires considerable time (Kinnunen and Mauno, 1998).

Although, the number of participants who were primary caregivers of elderly parents was small (25.2%) (Figure 4.14). They appeared to be taking on the major share of the task of caring for elderly parents:

“I have to run a home parallel to my job responsibilities. I have my mother with me who has different kinds of health issues. I look after each aspect of her life. I am managing two departments in the university. My day starts early but ends late. I go home late. This routine does not make my mother happy.” (Senior Interviewee, 16)

However, because of the value placed on caring for parents in the Holy Quran (Quran Surat Al-'Isrā' 17; 23) the participants had a sense of responsibility about taking care of their elderly parents. Particularly in the case of elderly mothers, it never occurred to them that intimate care should be undertaken by a male family member. Therefore, daughters who were unmarried or those who lived in the surrounding areas near to their parents' home, usually liked to take good care of their mothers. Society also expects daughters-in-law to be ready to give time to fulfill these care demands. One of the participants who was unmarried said:

“I am supposed to look after my mother as in Pakistani culture. This responsibility lies with the daughter or daughters-in-law to look after their elderly parents, particularly mothers who need intimate care....Personally, I feel pleasure and privilege to be able to take care of my mother” (Senior Interviewee, 16)

5.2.2 Family commitments

Most of the participants (45.8%) were keen to highlight that the requirements for professional development sometimes conflicted with their family obligations. This was particularly the situation when training opportunities were available far from their place of residence. Although they enjoyed their domestic role, they viewed their family commitments as an obstacle to their career development. They were less likely to take training opportunities that may have enhanced their career prospects to the detriment of their family commitments. For example, a senior participant stated:

“I work more than a man, 14 hours a day. What if I am given the opportunity to go abroad to study for a further higher degree. I cannot go straightaway due to family responsibilities but a man can go without thinking about other options as they have no such responsibilities as women do [...]. If I were a man, no doubt, I would have progressed more quickly and more successfully than I have as a woman.”(Senior Interviewee 14)

Another senior participant, though aspiring to the most senior management positions, commented on the impact of her family commitments on her career progression:

“I want to progress to the most senior ranks of university management. Currently, I have been offered a high senior position in a university. It is a very prestigious job and it is tempting to accept this offer. The date for accepting this offer is not over yet. The main issue is that this university is situated in another city. Due to my son’s education, I am not going to accept it straightaway, although my son is grown up and studying in a university I will have to wait till the completion of his degree.” (Senior Interviewee, 19)

5.2.3 Women's own choices between work and family

This sub-theme emerged from 52 percent of participants. They perceived themselves as not helping their career development by willingly choosing to undertake most of the domestic duties. They viewed themselves as the primary caregivers for children and other family members and happily performed the role of mother and daughter, as well as working outside the family home. Foster (2001) suggests that women have difficulty in leaving their traditional roles of homemakers and mothers and that this results in role constraints. For example, one of the senior participants in the focus group discussion suggested:

“Undoubtedly, it depends on the women and from a very individual perspective, I think that women often like to carry out home duties [...] I think they happily cook and do all the chores. It is not being pressed on them” (Focus group)

Based on the belief that mothers can be the best teachers for their children, some of the participants were interested in teaching their children themselves in the first years of their schooling. One of the participants gave up her career because she felt responsibility for her children's education.

“I personally feel that the education of children should be taken care of by their mothers. To take care of my daughter, I decided to quit my directorship and took on this job.” (Senior Interviewee, 4)

A senior participant shared from her experience:

“At one time my son's institution was far away from home. I used to take him to school then until school closed, I sat there in my car, eating, drinking offering prayers in the car then taking him back home safely. My husband had no concern with these matters. When my son's studies finished, I took on this job. Now I strongly desire to succeed in this organization.” (Junior Interviewee, 30)

5.2.4 Women pressured not to work by their family members

In some cases (10.4%), there seemed to be pressure from family members for participants not to take up senior positions. Some participants simply decided not to apply for senior management positions despite being qualified for such positions, as they had not gained permission from their in-laws to take a job. Few highly qualified women took the decision to start a career and devote themselves to work responsibilities. A reflection of a senior participant in this regard was as follows:

“A few women are personally known to me who have good professional degrees as well as aptitude for managerial jobs but due to their family demands and desires they have not applied for administrative positions. They are in teaching. My sister has no permission to take a job in spite of her high qualifications. She accepted all of the restrictions imposed by her in-laws and is happily undertaking household activities” (Senior Interviewee, 14).

Related to this, the following observation emerged during the focus group discussion:

“People do like to have an educated wife but they don’t like them having a job. Some women do not care about these restrictions but then the home is spoiled in the long run.” (Focus group)

Some participants did not set out goals for themselves, or achieve all that they desired to achieve. Namayandeh et al. (2010) suggest that men think women should give little priority to their career but should be more concerned about their family. Some women indicated that gender role stereotypes continued to influence decisions regarding their promotion and advancement to senior levels in universities:

“I should be in competition for a promotion but my husband discourages me from taking up the next level of administrative responsibilities. He believes that in this case home and family would suffer.” (Junior Interviewee, 48)

Junior and senior participants expressed the view that in Pakistan if both husband and wife had a professional career, in the case of having to move due to postings or migration, it was the wife who was expected to make any adjustment even compromising her career aspirations:

“Out of a hundred we were only three females who were designated as Director of different departments in this university. One got married, then she had to move somewhere else with her husband. The other had to migrate to Canada with her husband. Only I am left.” (Senior Interviewee, 25)

5.2.5 The effects of family constraints on women’s lives

There were reported to be a range of effects of family constraints on participants’ lives, one being that they did not progress into senior management positions at the normal pace. Examples are set out in the following sections.

i) Difficulties in career progression

Since the Pakistani women were expected to be more highly involved in domestic, home roles and men to be more highly involved in external roles, the participants interviewed were asked about the extent of their family demands and commitments and the extent to which these might have operated as an obstacle to their progression to senior management positions. The data demonstrated that 20.8 percent of the participants could not easily gain career advancement, in part due to maintaining their family roles. Commenting on the situation a junior female participant expressed regrets about her situation:

“I understand that I should obtain a position at the highest level in my area but due to family commitments I had to refuse a scholarship twice for higher studies abroad [...] now I am in the junior ranks as compared to my other colleagues. Still...again, I want to have a career break due to my kids’ education. I want to establish their base [...]”. (Junior Interviewee, 41)

Some of the participants felt that family demands and family commitments affected their performance in the office. They continued to be responsible for domestic matters while at work.

“[...] it never happens that I receive no phone calls from my home regarding household matters. This diverts my attention from my official work.” (Senior Interviewee, 20)

ii) Incongruity between work and family

Due to incompatibility between work and family domains women can experience strain and stress (Allen et al., 2000), although only 14.5 percent of the participants reported experiencing tension and disturbance when there was a clash between work and family because of the incompatible behaviors required for each. Despite this, such barriers provide a key explanation for women's poor representation in top-level management positions (Coleman, 2011). One of the senior participants described how she had problems when she had to manage dual responsibilities:

“I am a mother and wife. I do justice to both roles, but due to dual responsibilities and too many demands and difficulties in the system, I become annoyed. Sometimes I yell in the house. Sometimes I yell in the office.” (Senior Interviewee, 13)

Another senior participant made similar comments:

“I have succeeded largely due to my family support. However, there were times when I had to make choices and limit my professional activities in order to maintain my life and career.” (Senior Interviewee, 1)

iii) Lack of time for socialization and personal care

The participants were asked how they thought that their gender role and home responsibilities affected their personal lives. The findings revealed that family-based commitments were associated with reducing the time that they had to spend in rest and personal care for themselves. The majority of participants (66.6%) felt that they had

sacrificed other areas of their personal lives to proceed with their career. They did not have enough time for leisure and relaxation; dual responsibilities had shrunk their social life. They had little time to participate in other social activities:

“I do not have a social life. My relatives and friends complain that I have no time to call them [...]. I never have enough time for myself. I like to watch movies. For that, sometimes, I have planned... but then I realize.... next morning, I will have to do so many other tasks. So then I postpone the idea and go to sleep without watching TV. I have absolutely no time for myself.”
(Senior Interviewee, 10)

The same officer commented on how housewives/nonworking women led an ideal domestic life. They had no time constraints. Money worries were also far from their minds:

“If I could have a second life then I would prefer to be a housewife rather than a working woman. In our scenario, I think housewives are more privileged. They do whatever they want to do [...] they take rest, they watch movies, they shop, and they attend social activities.... we poor fellows.... have no control over time [...] Moreover, we earn, and we value money. We think before spending. But housewives have no such worries, they enjoy their lives.” (Senior Interviewee, 10)

One of the senior participants, now at the end of her career, identified the personal sacrifices that she had made for her career. She expressed this in the following way:

“I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career but dual responsibilities have affected me to a great extent in different ways [...] Less time is available for my personal care, enjoyment and relaxation. Many times, I have had to postpone my appointments even with the doctor and I have to reschedule things. I have no time

to see my mother though we are living in the same town. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

5. 3 Chapter Summary

The analysis of the narratives showed that participants' career progression and occupational choices were influenced by the values and expectations of family members and the approach through which they themselves perceived their work and family responsibilities.

Overall, the analysis demonstrated that women were responsible for the majority of household work and were usually the main childcare provider. Despite women's professional responsibilities, they continued to conform to traditional gender roles at home. Further, the participants' career prospects were affected as professional development opportunities were limited by their family commitments, which shaped their career choices as they prioritized children's welfare over high salaries and prestigious job titles.

The analysis also indicated that career choices were sometimes strongly influenced by family members. This form of familial influence may be greater for people where collectivist family systems are commonplace, wherein respect for and compliance with one's parents and elders' opinion is often greatly valued (Lee et al., 200).

Family responsibilities were not merely a matter of societal perceptions, women themselves fully recognized that they had everyday family duties. Despite this, the majority of the participants did not speak disagreeably about their responsibilities. They have accepted that they were the main homemakers and caregivers. The decisions that they made about their career progression they made of their own free will without feeling any regret. However, they described that such responsibilities constrained their career progression. They had experienced times when they had to give preference to family over work. Moreover, some experienced stress, exhaustion and anxiety in their lives due to their dual responsibilities. Their main concern was that work should be balanced with domestic life so that they had enough time to pursue their personal interests.

The next chapter focuses on the societal factors the interviewed women described as constraints for their career success.

CHAPTER 6 SOCIETAL CONSTRAINTS

6.1 Introduction

In continuation of the analysis of the qualitative data relevant to the second research question: “*What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational and personal level, to their advancement to senior management positions?*” This chapter deals with the second main theme ‘societal constraints relating to culture and cultural expectations that have constrained women from proceeding to senior management positions. Kirai and Margaret (2012) suggest that social cultural beliefs are a key underlying factor in explaining women’s lack of career progression. These beliefs give importance to the authority of men based on the stereotypical roles expected for males and females in society (chapter 5). The analysis of the participants’ responses consistently showed that they had difficulties in their career progression as they faced negative attitudes and societal beliefs in numerous subtle ways that had the effect of constraining their progression in management careers.

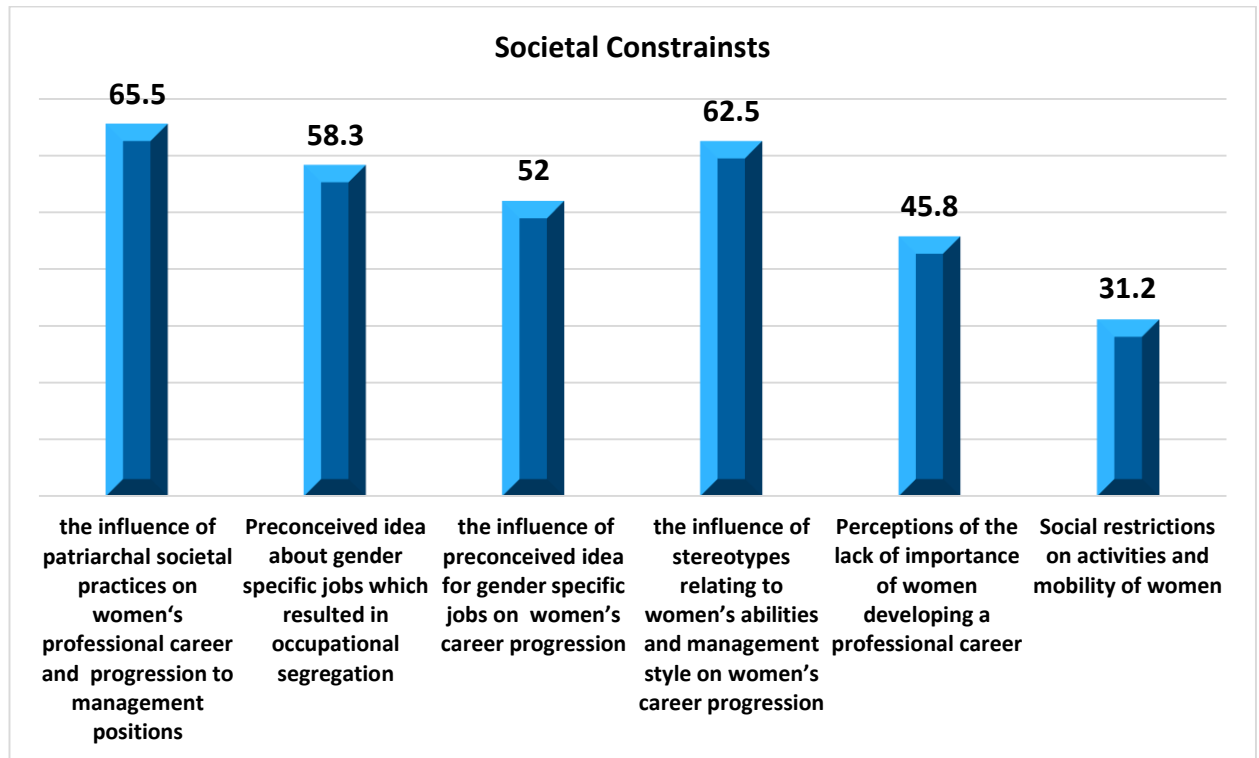
The theme societal constraints along with its sub-themes are discussed in the following sections with descriptive examples taken from the participant’s responses to explain the ways in which participants’ specific cultural context led to particular societal constraints and influenced their careers. The participants acknowledged different kinds of challenges and constraints that emerged from the socio-cultural structures within society as follows:

- the influence of patriarchal societal practices on women’s professional career and progression to management positions;
- preconceived ideas about appropriate gender specific jobs which resulted in occupational segregation;
- the influence of preconceived ideas about gender specific jobs on women’s career progression;
- the influence of stereotypes relating to women’s abilities and management style on women’s career progression;
- perceptions of the lack of importance of women developing a professional career; and
- social constraints on the activities and mobility of women.

Figure 6.1 presents an overview of the percentage of women referring to each theme relating to societal constraints in relation to the first research question. This will be

followed by examples from the interviews setting out how societal factors influenced participants' career progression (for the frequency of responses, see appendix 6 A).

Figure 6.1 Societal factors influencing women's career progression



6.2 The influence of patriarchal societal practices on women's professional career and progression to management positions

Generally, patriarchy can be defined as “a fluid and shifting set of social relations where men exercise varying degrees of power and control” (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992: 3). Patriarchy refers to a societal structure that socializes men into dominant positions where they are the main decision-makers and hold the key positions of authority in home-related matters (Sobehart, 2009). These attitudes inform expectations and behaviors and affect professional women in many different ways (Bardoel et al., 2011).

Pakistan is an Islamic state, where the majority of the population is Muslim. As described earlier (chapter 2) Islam has accorded a highly respected social position to women. However, the inherent mind-set of Pakistani society is patriarchal.

The research revealed that 65.5 percent of participants faced barriers to their career progression as a result of the patriarchal system. Participants referred to patriarchy in

terms of men taking primary responsibility for the wellbeing and comfort of the family as a whole. Therefore, financial power was mostly in the hands of men. Since the financial authority mainly rested with male members of the family the participants suggested that culturally women's employment was not appreciated and generally women were not encouraged to work outside of the home. Men were expected to provide for the family financially. The participants elaborated:

“It is a social stigma that women need not work. Culturally, it is not appreciated that a woman as a sister, daughter and wife may earn and take care of financial matters [...]. Home is defined as the best place for her where she performs her role as a mother and wife. A man dominates the world outside the home and performs his role as a breadwinner [...]. It is man's duty to finance his family [...]. This is the turning point from where men take advantage to consider themselves as the head of the family [...].” (Focus group)

The findings suggested that the continuing prevalence of patriarchal practices was linked to a lack of encouragement from male family members for women to take up professional responsibilities. Consequently, women found it difficult to meet their aspirations. Participants regarded patriarchy as embedded within the social structure to such an extent that people were rarely aware that their behaviors were unjust. The participants perceived that in most parts of Pakistan, a woman as a mother was highly honored, as a sister highly respected, as a daughter highly loved and as a wife highly valued. Women participated in a wide range of decision making. Their opinion was valued. Despite this patriarchal practices affected women's progression to high level positions. They tended to hold lower status levels than men in organizations. This created unequal power structures:

“Mostly, the role of a woman as a homemaker in Pakistan is given high importance. It is not the case that people deliberately undermine their position. In Pakistan older women have a major influence on the family [...]. It is because of patriarchal notions relating to gender differences that society is reluctant to accept women's leadership roles in organizations.” (Focus group)

The participants indicated that women had played a vital role in society and a significant role in shaping the history of Pakistan. They gave examples including Hazrat Khadija and Hazrat Aisha²⁴, and the daughter of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) Hazrat Fatima, who were key figures in the earliest years of Islamic history. Later, due to different cultural influences the social system came to regard women as subordinate to men in many fields of life:

“My grandmother used to hold a powerful position in the community. People came to her to hear her final decisions over disputed matters. Everybody accepted her decisions. The important role of women can be verified by examples from Islamic history where a woman is seen as a significant figure. But Pakistan is influenced by a particular culture and has become a male dominated society. Society wants to see women submissive and accepts her in this specific role not in leading or in financially strong positions”.
(Senior Interviewee, 6)

One interviewee said:

“[...]. My mother is an authority over all [...] All key decisions revolve around her [...] Nobody dares to argue [...] But there are some general flaws in society. Some cultural influences give preference to sons over daughters. Furthermore, man is accepted as the main earner due to which his importance is multiplied. Management is considered as a symbol of power and carries much importance. That is left to men only” (Senior Interviewee, 22)

The patriarchal nature of Pakistani society presented barriers to women in gaining key positions in organizations, despite the fact they were given due respect in their homes. These embedded beliefs about gender roles limited women’s potential to aspire to senior management positions. The multicultural nature of Pakistani society led to a range of

²⁴The wives of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

influences which ignored historical traditional values presenting challenges to women in pursuing leadership positions.

6.3 Preconceived ideas about appropriate gender specific jobs which resulted in occupational segregation

Adeyemi et al. (2006) suggested that stereotypes about gender based roles represented major hurdles to women's career advancement leading to occupational segregation. Kraus and Yonay (2000) describe occupational segregation as when one gender predominates in a specific occupational category. This can lead to discrimination in access to power and authority in the workplace (Huffman and Cohen, 2004). Occupational segregation has been pervasive over time. Men and women are professionally segregated into two different worlds. 'In both advanced and developing countries men were over-presented in craft, trade, plant and machine operations and managerial and legislation occupations. In contrast women occupied mid skill jobs like clerks, service workers, and shop and sales workers. More women are seen in health and education' (ILO, 2012:8).

The current findings supported this. Generally, women did not have choice relating to their preferences or aptitudes. The majority of the participants (58.3%) indicated that women's access to education had brought about a certain level of change in societal attitudes and developed acceptance of their outside work but there were still many people who did not approve of women working with men.

“Particularly in rural areas people's thinking is not developed to such an extent that they may allow their daughters to work with men”. As a result favored professions were those of school or college teachers and female doctors. These occupations were also preferred because women could then get medical and educational services from their own gender. *“It was not preferred to have intimate examination and medical care by male doctors.”* Teaching and medical professions were therefore considered ideal and noble professions for Pakistani women.

The participants emphasized that the most supported job for women was that of teaching, because this was best suited to family life. Teaching hours were best matched with children's schooling. The majority of time could be devoted to childcare alongside work

responsibilities. This was not possible in management positions. A senior interviewee reported:

“People are in the habit of seeing women in the teaching profession [...] I have heard people, particularly women, saying that teaching is the only job that leaves a woman some time for herself and her family as it carries flexible working hours, unlike other jobs. It is not time consuming therefore this is the best profession for women. Men always endorse this idea” [...] (Focus group)

However, one participant disagreed with the underlying assumptions of this:

“[...] I am not convinced that teaching helps a married woman to find time for other things and look after her family as well. What about those who are in nuclear families and have added responsibilities of doing all home related tasks without any support provided by any family members [....]” (Focus group)

Participants also explained how societal attitudes influenced the perceptions of elderly mothers towards their daughters working in particular roles. These perceptions not only existed in the minds of men. Some women were reluctant to accept women working in management positions. One of the participants regarded this as the most significant cause of occupational segregation:

“Though trends have changed [...] I know women who are in key positions in the country’s politics, Pak army, corporate sectors, media [...]. I can give you my own example. I passed my civil service exam but my mother did not allow me to join that sector, she preferred to send me to the teaching profession. She thought it was a more protected job, though, it is more complicated than management [...]” (Senior Interviewee, 10)

There were some jobs, for example related to finance, which were always filled by male staff. It was assumed that financial knowledge only lay with men. There were many

departments where women were not seen. Women did not apply for these roles thus these occupations were automatically left for men:

“There are some departments which are considered best handled by men for example, treasury. Women are mentally prepared and personally reluctant to take up the responsibilities for fiscal matters. They assume that these positions do not suit their personalities. This is their choice but consequently results in occupational segregation”
(Senior Interviewee, 1)

The findings suggested that stereotypes and perceptions of Pakistani women in society had a significant negative impact on the place of women in management positions. Historically, a few occupations were regarded as highly prestigious for them such as doctors or the teaching profession. Over time, the range had broadened to include a wider range of jobs. Nevertheless, in Pakistan society there were strong traditional social expectations where women were still believed to be suited for medicine or teaching.

6.4 The Influence of preconceived ideas for gender specific jobs on women’s career progression

As described in chapter 5, role theory argues that stereotypic gender roles regulate social values and expectations that determine the expected behavior of men and women (Katz and Kahn, 1978; Carli and Eagly, 1999) which in turn have led to the expectation that it is more appropriate for men to hold executive positions than women (Mordi et al., 2010).

Fifty two percent of the participants believed that preconceived ideas relating to gender specific jobs impacted on women’s career progression. The participants indicated that they received resistance from colleagues, particularly in the early years of their career, for accepting or applying for management positions. This was regarded as a major challenge to career success. A senior participant shared her experiences of beginning of her career:

“When I joined university there were no women working in management positions. ...It was very difficult for them to accept me [...] they were not in favor of my administrative position [...]. Many

hurdles were created to my promotion [...] Despite my eligibility, for a long time, I could not get due promotions [...]” (Senior, Interviewee, 8)

A few participants described the attitudes of their male subordinates and how stereotypes about gender specific jobs influenced their attitudes towards their management positions. A few of the senior participants reported that male subordinates exhibited less than positive attitudes to women in senior positions:

“It was difficult to work with male staff. Initially, male subordinates treated me as a woman and did not consider me as their boss. Then I had to put my foot down and make them realize that there was a boss around. They had to listen but still they tried to get away with things.” (Senior Interviewee, 12)

Social attitudes towards gender specific jobs emerged as one of the most significant constraints toward women’s progression to senior management positions. It appeared that stereotypical images of a leader being male could create a challenging situation for women’s career progression.

6.5 The influence of stereotypes relating to women’s abilities and management style on women’s career progression

There was evidence of stereotyping in relation to women’s abilities which also caused difficulties to their advancement to senior management positions. The merits associated with being a successful administrator have been linked with authoritative masculinity (Sinclair, 2007; Fletcher, 2004; Collinson and Hearn, 1996). Women are thought of as different from men in leadership styles, lacking an effective authoritative approach (Appelbaum et al., 2003), and aggressiveness, risk-taking, decisiveness, self-confidence and motivation for power positions (Sutton and Moore, 1985). However, Aladejana (2005) argued that men and women’s different styles of management should not suggest that one is better than the other. The differences in management styles are to a certain extent due to the way men regard leadership as leading, while women perceive leadership as facilitating (Ibid). However, from the stereotypical perspective women’s leadership

qualities are likely to be ignored with them seen as the weaker gender (Grove and Montgomery, 2000).

The majority of participants (62.5%) expressed concerns regarding social stereotypes about women's abilities and management style. Social stereotypes generally assumed that males were successful in leadership positions whereas success for women in senior positions was considered less optimistic as they were not expected to be firm in challenging positions. One of the participants reported the behavior of male members of an official committee as follows:

“When I was appointed as Head of an Institute [...] while attending an initial meetings for campus development [...] I heard one of the male members of that meeting say, let's wait, and 'see when this Institute collapses.’” (Senior Interviewee, 15)

Some participants reported that at university level their management behaviors were judged inconsistently:

“People regard us as rude and strict if we are assertive. Whereas we are described as too polite to manage if we exhibit accommodative attitudes” (Focus group)

Women have also been considered not sufficiently experienced to undertake management responsibilities and seen as incompetent and less knowledgeable for handling many fields (Owen and Todor, 1993). One participant expressed her concerns that there was a common misperception that women were not capable of leading some departments:

“Between the lines they make us realize that they are male and they have more knowledge than women. They used to say that certain things are not under your power and control [...] but the university's legal advisor determines the power and administrative controls that regulate organizational practices. There is a long list of departments (she referred to the university's website for evidence) where women have not been seen over the ages [...]” (Senior Interviewee, 1)

The participants' also reported that stereotypical beliefs about women characterized them as emotional and not sufficiently professional to be appropriate for top management positions:

“Another pre-conceived idea is about our polite nature, due to which it is believed that women cannot deliver [...]. From that perspective women are weaker, they can't take bold decisions, can't face opposition, and can't face different challenges. They can't handle the pressures of public dealings as they are not strong enough to handle the task of management as it requires stronger personalities [...]. These are all gender biases which propagate false ideas [...] some qualities are attributed to men but it does not mean that we cannot meet the requirements to manage.”(Senior Interviewee, 2)

The research showed that there was a societal perception that men are better for handling top management positions than women. Participants argued that there was a misconception that leadership qualities were gender specific. However, such stereotypes had a harmful effect on women's careers consigning women to secondary roles.

6.6 Perceptions of the lack of importance of women developing a professional career

Given the expectation that Pakistani woman should to be dedicated to domestic life (chapter 5), 45.8 percent of the participants indicated that they found limitations for their career in the structural systems of society where women's professional careers were not considered to be of much importance. Parents were interested in girls' education but not in their jobs. One of the participants commented:

“I was not allowed to join medical college. Initially, I was not allowed to avail myself of a scholarship because we were six sisters and our father wanted all of us to get married. They thought Master's level education was enough for us to live a respectable life... [...]”
(Senior Interviewee, 2)

Limitations to women's careers were often present in the form of societal expectations about a daughter's education. For example, participants argued that parents focused

on achieving a better life for their daughters as they were oversensitive in relation to their well-being. Primarily, they provided them with a good education so that they could get a good marriage proposal and secondly, to made them financially independent to help themselves in case of unforeseen hardship but not for the sake of their career development:

“There is a prevailing notion that having a good degree brings a good marriage proposal [...] further, parents’ desire to achieve better treatment for their daughters by their in-laws [...]. They prepare them for future difficulties if any, so they can get an appropriate job to help themselves [...]” (Focus group)

Further to this, one interviewee reported:

“In this university women outnumber men, for example, in M.Phil. classes. Out of 110 only 9 are boys the rest are all girls. But the thing is parents prefer to give education to their daughters only for them to have a good marriage proposal not for their employment”. (Senior Interviewee, 27)

The societal attitudes of those who held traditional beliefs regarding the ideal roles of women, had a great influence on women’s careers. There was no emphasis on the importance of women having an occupation. Consequently, women were not encouraged to develop their professional capabilities.

6.7 Social constraints on activities and the mobility of women

In addition to these societal stereotypes, the factors that prevented women from top positions were constraints on their activities and mobility. This supported the findings of Asiyanbola (2007). Thirty one percent of the participants experienced mobility constraints in their career. The need for women to be able to move around to pursue their careers was not accepted. Generally in Pakistan it was not considered appropriate for women to go out and work independently. While the interviewees indicated that the situation had changed over time and women were now allowed to work outside the home from morning until evening, it was still difficult for them to travel alone. For this reason

women were left with no option except to take available positions in the specific areas where they could easily commute from their homes.

One of the senior participants raised this as an issue faced by her female subordinates, because they were often unable to participate in professional development activities taking place outside the city. Their parents did not permit them to go alone. Their work activities were mainly limited to the city where they lived. Subsequently, they lagged behind their male colleagues:

“I have in my office both male and female subordinates. Whenever, opportunities for professional development arise [...]. I try to recommend my female colleagues. Unfortunately, they give me a typical response [...]. I cannot go to so and so places to attend the professional development workshop because my mother will not let me go alone [...]. I used to ask them, don't they have any plan to move ahead, they replied, no [...] not yet [...] these responses always make me very disappointed” (Senior Interviewee, 17)

Some of the participants reported that they had refused promotions linked with moving to another city as it would disturb their families and parents:

“Once, I applied for a higher post, appeared for the interview and was accepted. But the place of work was in a small city [...] far away from my place of residence [...] I was not permitted to live alone there [...] Daily commuting between office and home appeared to be a big issue. I was left with no option and turned down the job [...]. However, for a long time I was distressed about this. Now I am married and have moved with my husband to this city [...] but I will have to wait for another chance for promotion” (Junior Interviewee, 42)

Participants explained that while women were allowed to enter into different professions, in the rural areas, parents thought it unsafe for a girl to return home late in the evenings.

The extent of this issue varied from region to region and job to job, but the issue of security and safety of women in the cultural context still existed:

“In rural areas security issues are also involved. Life style is not changed. Means of transportation are not convenient. Due to societal problems, parents just want the safety of their daughters. They do not allow them to get back home alone late in the evenings, particularly after *Magrib*²⁵. Therefore they prefer the kind of job which finishes earlier [...] and this is teaching [...]” (Focus group)

It appeared that women had limited options and choices in managing their career progression as they were constrained by a range of traditional values even though they were qualified for promotion. There were also challenges relating to geographical location. These issues were persistent and their existence was justified as the continuation and endorsement of cultural and regional values which acted as barriers to women’s careers.

6.8 Chapter Summary

The participants perceived Pakistan’s patriarchal culture as a barrier to their career prospects. They identified inconsistency between beliefs and practices including conflict between people’s personal beliefs and societal norms and beliefs. Participants were confident that Islam itself did not present restrictions that might impede the career development of women but that the restrictions were societal. The traditional social system and views about the roles of men and women limited women’s’ career choices and created occupational segregation. There was also an assumption that women were less capable of being senior managers. There was also a societal belief that women required protection which limited their mobility and career development activities. Rural women, in particular, had more restricted choices and experienced more societal obstacles to their careers than those living in the towns or cities.

The next chapter focuses on the organizational factors the interviewed women described as constraints for their career success.

²⁵ After sunset

CHAPTER 7 ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRAINTS

7.1 Introduction

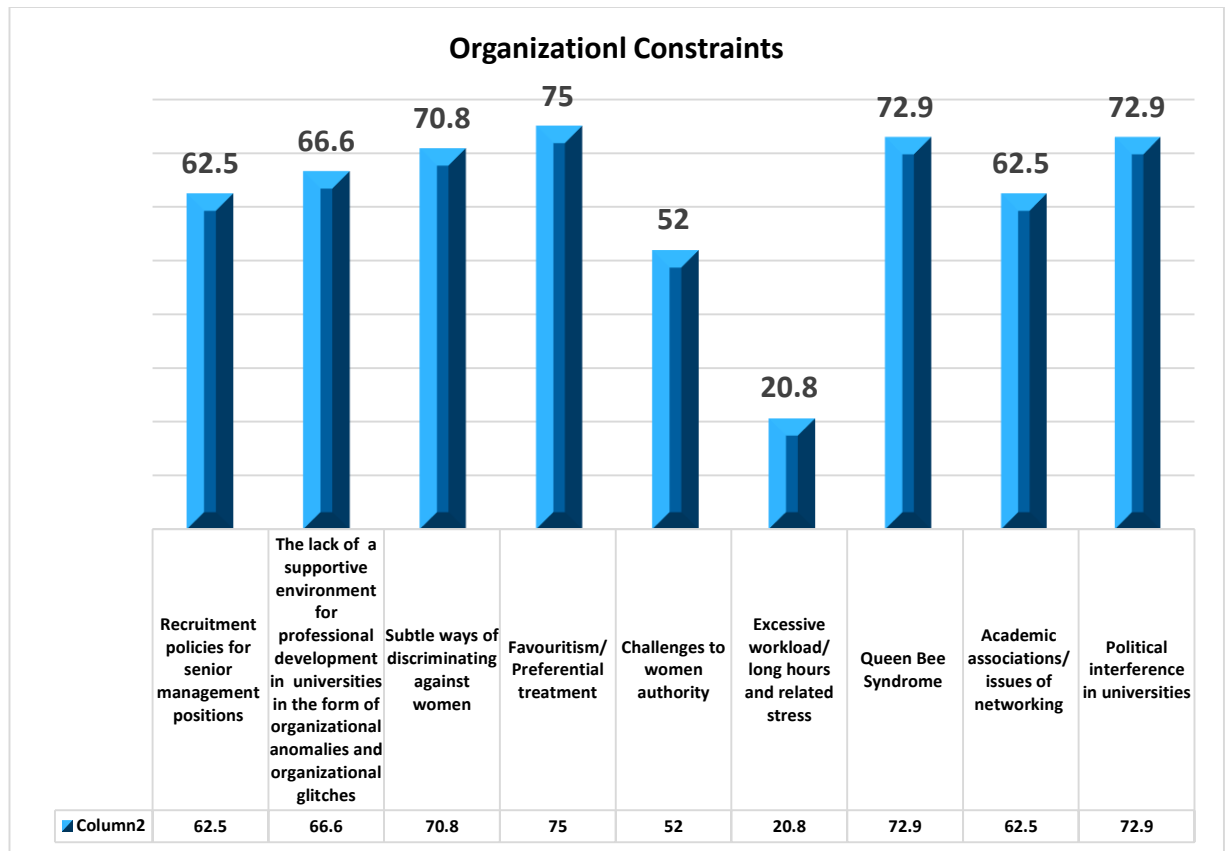
This chapter continues the analysis of the qualitative data relevant to the second research question: “*What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational and personal level to their advancement to senior management positions?*” With a focus on the third main theme ‘organizational constraints which might have influenced women’s career progression. As shown in figure 7.1, most of the participants had experienced organizational factors that impacted on their careers in terms of structural policies and particular organizational environments.

Organizational constraints and the emerging sub-themes are discussed in the following sections with descriptive examples taken from the participant’s responses explaining the ways in which participants’ specific organizational environments and the structural policies within them represented organizational constraints and influenced their careers in term of:

- recruitment policies for senior management positions;
- the lack of a supportive environment for professional development in universities in the form of organizational anomalies and organizational glitches;
- subtle ways of discriminating against women;
- favoritism/preferential treatment;
- challenges to women’s authority;
- excessive workload/ long hours and related stress;
- queen bee syndrome;
- academic associations/issues of networking; and
- political interference in universities.

Figure 7.1 presents the percentages of participants’ responses relating to perceived organizational constraints to their career progression (the frequency of responses, are tabulated in appendix 7A).

Figure 7.1 Organizational factors influencing women's career progression



7.2 Recruitment policies for senior management positions

Recruitment policies include all procedures that relate to selection and promotion processes and should provide a sound framework for the recruitment and selection of employees (GOP, Department of Education, 2011).

The interview data suggested that apart from academic prerequisites, there was a specific recruitment condition adopted by universities when it came to appointing people to management positions. This related to experience in the field, administrative capability, and duration of service. The participants referred to this as a common phenomenon. One of the key informants indicated: *“The selection policy was not being documented for management posts as academic positions based on academic credentials”* (key informant 2).

Most of the participants (62.5%) reported recruitment policies to be one of the main factors influencing the appointment and promotion of women into senior management

positions as it tended to be based on promotion rather than selection. The research revealed that in most of the Pakistani universities the administration comprised men who had been working for between 20-30 years. They had relevant experience in the field. They were promoted to the next higher grade based on their work experience. The interviewees reported that despite having high level qualifications they had often started their first job as a junior officer rather than in a senior position. Subsequently, they found it hard to move into a leading position. Hence, their prospects for career advancement were limited. Although the women who were recruited to junior management positions were comparatively highly qualified they lacked general management and administrative experience:

“I know many people who are now in the senior cadre. They started their jobs in junior positions [...] same faces, same mentality [...] They just gained work experience not further qualifications [...] Now employment trends have changed but previously, I have never seen a women working in the administrative offices. Therefore, they had no administrative experience. (Senior Interviewee, 17)

Further, the interviewees indicated that vice-chancellors liked to appoint experienced persons particularly to administrative positions who adhered to all laws and regulations. In Pakistan the universities are governed based on a range of policies and regulations. To function effectively the rules and regulations must be well written and enforced. Appointees must therefore be acquainted with all the rules and regulations and have experience to assist a Vice-Chancellor. Since men are already in the field, they have the work experience and required knowledge and abilities, which they had developed over time. As women entered the management field late, the recruitment criteria that included specific experience made it difficult for them to be seen as potential candidates:

“Vice-chancellors prefer to have experienced persons in administrative positions in their universities. They rely heavily on such professionals [...]. They like to get things readymade. They do not want to make much effort [...] they give a short dictation and want a complete file in return. Men have relevant experience, therefore, they are given preference.” (Key Informant, 2)

The data revealed that structural boundaries in universities contributed to women's underrepresentation in senior management positions. Promotion procedures based on administrative experience appeared to be key factors to the appointment and promotion of women into senior management positions. There was a tendency for vice-chancellors to employ individuals who were highly experienced in relation to the administrative job requirements. Due to late entry into the management field women could not get sufficient experience to be appointed to senior management positions. Thus, they automatically lagged behind men.

7.3 The lack of a supportive environment for professional development in universities in the form of organizational anomalies and organizational glitches

Professional development is essential to improve knowledge and skills through exposure to new experiences and it benefits both individuals and organizations (Roscoe, 2002). It is a tool for career progression particularly for those aspiring to senior positions. Professional development activities take place in many forms, for example, attending seminars, academic courses and conferences, undertaking work-based activities, or improving qualifications (Carnell et al., 2006). In this regard, organizational support is significant for employees (Clark, 2001). This is defined as the extent to which employees perceive that their organization is concerned with their personal and professional life by providing the kind of support that is needed (Allen et al., 2008). Generally, it is assumed that women receive less organizational support in universities whether they are in junior or senior positions (Schein, 2005)

With reference to organizational support for professional development opportunities, a key informant explained that the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) was the chief regulator and main governing body of higher education in Pakistan. It acts as an intermediary in processing government funding and coordinates the academic matters of the universities (HEC, 2011). It had launched a program for the management cadre irrespective of gender. The HEC had also created the budget head "HEC- Universities Programs" to meet the urgent and emergent needs of the universities including professional development programs for university teachers and administrators (HEC, 2010). As a result universities have undertaken some initiatives to support the career development of women.

However, the participants interviewed were apprehensive about the anomalies and complexities involved in universities' functioning when allocating the financial resources for supporting women's professional development. The majority of the participants (66.6%) reported that they had experienced challenges to their career opportunities. Although, they had won scholarships and made progress in their careers this had not been easy and there were many difficulties. Participants reported that they had funding from their organizations to get a higher degree abroad but most had found it difficult to get the money released at a normal pace and had a continuous struggle to get things done:

“I should tell my own story. One of the most challenging experiences I ever had was the release of my scholarship for my studies abroad. I was the first lady who had achieved this award. However, the process to release the funds was agonizing. I had to go through the challenges of red tape processes [...] bureaucratic delays [...]. This took so long that I thought I would not be able to get it done [...] I had to put in extra effort. I believe there are other women too who had these issues in their career life. For these difficulties, I could write a book [...] I am glad [Bushra] you are doing this task on our behalf”. (Key Informant, 1)

Another participant reported similar experiences. She was awarded a foreign scholarship for higher education studies, but there were long delays in progressing matters and processing the required documents. This had exhausted her energy and time:

“My university deliberately delayed the matter and did not issue me with the supporting documents which were mandatory to show at the immigration desk when leaving for a foreign country. I had to postpone my flight [...]. My father was extremely influential and without him it would have been complicated to get through [...] Imagine how it must be for those who don't have this kind of support. (Senior Interviewee, 23)

The participants were also asked to what extent they were provided with university support for seeking professional development opportunities. The empirical evidence

showed that they had had little or no support. Almost half of the participants had had few opportunities to experience relevant development opportunities through their universities which were viewed as prerequisite to progress into senior management positions. Those who had progressed successfully had often sought out and/or created the opportunities themselves or had been given moral and financial support by their families:

“Besides formal training and development opportunities, my university did not provide me with support to get additional professional development opportunities. It was all my personal efforts. Organizational heads facilitated me only through proper channel formalities by giving no objections, etc. [...]” (Senior Interviewee, 21)

The research revealed that the participants faced a number of institutional barriers in relation to their professional development. At the government level, women were encouraged to pursue higher education and management careers. However, little attention seemed to have been paid to the practices and procedures that could facilitate this. Processes which should have been accomplished in a professional and timely manner, took a long time reflecting the lack of a conducive environment in the universities for women’s professional development.

7.4 Subtle ways of discriminating against women

The glass ceiling is defined as an invisible barrier which presents subtle ways of discrimination to advancement in a profession (Altman et al., 2005). Most of the participants in the study (70.8%) reported that they had encountered prejudiced behaviors which had inhibited their career opportunities. These behaviors were more likely to be covert than overt. They created major challenges for women impeding them from moving up to senior management positions. One of the participants said:

“Though it is said that opportunities are open for both male and female there are invisible means of discrimination at institutional level. Women cannot fairly benefit from the opportunities announced. University authorities present different lame excuses not to nominate women for particular opportunities and situations [...] they look at a

woman as a woman not as a professional. I must say this is a hidden bias against them. ” (Senior Interviewee, 8)

Some participants reported different reasons why there were so few women in senior management positions. They indicated that in spite of the fact that they were eligible for further career promotions, they were not sure that they would be able to get to the next higher position in their career in male dominated universities:

“In the mixed universities, there was always an uncertain situation when male and female both were candidates for promotion. There was no certainty for those women who were extremely good at their jobs whether they would get a fair chance of being selected [...]. A number of times there was a point in my own career when I thought I would not be able to achieve headship”. (Senior Interviewee, 11)

Further, the analysis of the data revealed that a few participants had applied for vice chancellor positions. They were successfully short-listed. This indicated that they had fulfilled the prerequisites for the said posts. They performed well in the interview situation. However, the search committee²⁶ while interviewing the candidates, disregarded highly qualified and competent women:

“Women are being selected as vice-chancellors for women universities only due to the policy issues. For the mixed universities, the situation is entirely different. Women are very rarely appointed as a vice-chancellor in the co-ed universities. Although, I was highly competent and I was considered as a strong candidate, again, the same disappointing outcome [...]. It is thought to be a difficult task for a woman to run a co-ed university. A woman can be the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Head of the State Bank of Pakistan, but cannot run a mixed university. What a ridiculous excuse [...] (Senior Interviewee, 2).

²⁶Search committee involves in the recruitment, interviewing, screening and evaluation of applicants

Further to this, another revealing example of subtle discrimination given by a key informant was that *“the tenure of those women, who were already working in senior positions, was also not extended as compared to their male counterparts”*.

Most of the junior participants aspiring to senior management positions confirmed that the glass ceiling to career progression existed. They reported that the provision of opportunities for promotion and training programs was not equitably available to the majority of them. The system of selection for the award of scholarships was not transparent. Although everyone should be treated equally and everyone who joined the university should have an equal chance of pursuing a career, this was not the case in practice:

“I have been serving here in this so-called prestigious university for more than 10 years and so are my few other female colleagues. We should be given training and development opportunities like others [...] from the beginning of my career to date, we have never been nominated for any national/international conferences, workshops, or other professional development training. However, this is not the same for every office [...] (Senior Interviewee, 30)

The participants also reported that all those employed in particular roles should be given information on all kinds of opportunities for professional development or promotion. Contrary to this, *“one of the administrative offices deliberately kept them away by not disclosing and forwarding opportunities available”*. Despite the fact that the majority of participants were well qualified, they were less likely to be informed when different kinds of awards became available so keeping these opportunities out of their reach. It was difficult for the women to make timely progress and have transparency about the opportunities. These kinds of discriminatory practices at institutional level constituted barriers for women to continue their professional growth.

7.5 Favoritism/preferential treatment

Favoritism is when one person or group is given preferential treatment in comparison to others. It exhibits the subjectivity of decision-makers (Kwon, 2005; Prendergast & Topel, 1996). Favoritism does not yield positive outcomes when leaders favor an individual over

the whole group (Dasborough, 2009). This ruins organizational harmony while providing insufficient training and development activities for the majority (Ibid).

The majority of the participants in the research (75%) reported that those who were best known to the higher hierarchy of the university were given comparatively more opportunities than others. They continuously received benefits. Further, they argued that career opportunities should be granted on eligibility criteria not on nepotism and that favoritism was prevalent in universities:

“[...] People working in a particular office [she named that office] get every kind of opportunity. They are always being nominated and get chances for financial support whether they are qualified or not [...]” (Junior Interviewee, 41)

The study found plenty of evidence which showed that the system of selection for the award of scholarships was not based on objectivity. Subjectivity was the predominant feature in such cases:

“Literally there is enough evidence of unfairness. In one university there are two individuals who were granted American scholarships to get admission to USA universities [she told the names of persons and USA universities where they got admissions]. The given awards were not publicized. To keep the process secret, they were not even interviewed. All the documents to US Universities were submitted secretly by the said university [...]. My goodness! [...] It was the height of prejudice [...]. I could not speak openly, otherwise I would be penalized” (Junior Interviewee, 44)

Participants also perceived that male bosses practised favoritism giving undue favor to other people particularly women who did not have merit. In spite of fact that they had strong academic credentials and were eligible for promotion better known individuals with less eligibility were promoted:

“I am a very reserved person. I do not like to communicate freely even to the boss [...] Due to that, at the time of my promotion, despite having 13 research publications, I was not selected. Instead a women who was selected had zero publications. In the proceedings, it was written that “*the woman who was selected had sufficient research publications*, for mine it was written *publications were not up to the mark*. [...] It is worth mentioning that she had a different nature; she used to talk freely to everyone. She had a very good working relationship with the boss, which ultimately worked for her but most women do not behave in such a manner and lag behind [...] (Senior Interviewee, 10)

The findings indicated the existence of favoritism in most of the universities where the participants worked. Interviewees expressed their concerns regarding access to career opportunities, in particular the allocation of funding and the circulation of information about career opportunities. This disadvantaged certain women despite the fact that they deserved to be given opportunities. Participants viewed favoritism as one of the most important reasons for losing career development opportunities which were viewed as a basic requirement to progress into senior management positions.

7.6 Challenges to women’s authority

More than half of the participants (52%) indicated that at the beginning of their careers in university management they had faced challenges from men. Male dominance was one of the major challenges to their career success. According to one senior participant, “*during my whole career I always fought against the odds.*”

One of the participants described how she had been appointed to a new office, which was male dominated. She had no knowledge of the role requirements. She had to rely on colleagues’ guidance. There were several times when she was intimidated by male colleagues over minor administrative issues:

“Things were not smooth at the beginning of my career. It was my first management experience. I was the only female among many male colleagues. It was horrifying. My management position was

new to them, which they considered should have been for them [...].Most of the time, I kept quiet [...]. Initially, male colleagues tried to manipulate the situation. They tried to make me look foolish on minor organizational issues. They did not tell me about the existing rules and regulations. Rather they tried to confuse me on these matters [...]. However; finally, I learnt how to handle them” (Junior Interviewee, 33)

Another participant reported a similar situation:

“[...] I am in a senior position. Whenever, I called up my section officer from the finance section, he often used to say *Madam, don't do that. You don't know about the financial matters. They are so sensitive. If you issue the orders [...] it could be an audit objection and might put you in a difficult situation*” However, I knew, what he was trying to do. He was just trying to indicate that he knew better than I did and that being a woman, I did not have enough knowledge about the university policy. Ridiculous! He was very junior to me in the hierarchy. But see the level of his confidence, making me harassed on administrative issues”. (Senior Interviewee, 18)

A senior participant explained how she had difficulties managing men in her department who wanted her position. They grouped together, tried to make her office working inefficient. They did not perform their duties properly and important files remained pending:

“Male members tried to harass me in such a way. They used to come late and created different excuses to leave early. They left many daily tasks unaccomplished [...]. They were trying to secure a fellow man's position [...]” (Senior Interviewee, 12)

Another participant also commented that her career journey was full of difficulties. A male colleague tried to harass her in the following ways:

“Though I have achieved well, my career journey has not been a bed of roses [...] I had a very tough time, right the way through my scholarship to my headship. Last year my headship was an issue [...]. A male colleague wanted my position, he struggled against me, he created different stories, and he wrote numerous letters to the authorities. However, when nothing happened, he left this department (Senior Interviewee, 16)

A few of the participants were of the view that they had experienced work harassment in the form of the creation of an unfriendly environment from both genders at the time when they were promoted to senior management positions. They faced a kind of conspiracy and for a while were scared and frustrated. These factors were not favorable to their career aspirations:

“When I was appointed as the Head of this Department my colleagues who were very supportive and friendly turned their back on me. This concerned me a lot [...], that they developed a kind of rivalry, professional jealousy. At times, I felt there was a conspiracy against me. I spent a lot of time consolidating my position. While all this was happening, I was very frustrated. Many times, I thought I should leave this job, because people were behaving so badly, I thought I couldn't compete with them” (Senior Interviewee, 12).

The research revealed that participants had faced work harassment from both genders, particularly when males and females were competing for promotion or when they had assumed their duties in a senior position.

7.7 Excessive workload/ long hours and related stress

Yang et al.(2000) suggested that work demands and work overload cause constant worries and stress among professional women in general and senior women in particular. Some of the current research participants (20.8%) reported that at various times throughout their professional lives they had experienced work pressures which affected their health. They did not enjoy their senior positions and associated them with undue burdens. They viewed

their work as causing excessive trouble to their families and as a result experienced feelings of guilt or selfishness, for example:

“I left my principalship due to public matters. I had to deal with many diverse official matters. I had to talk too much to different people, visitors, students, parents, and the media. I was fed up with this routine [...] I got chronic asthma. Sometimes, at nights, I had severe asthma attacks. My husband and son used to give me nebulizers. I felt guilty about their wakeful nights. I thought about what the job was doing to my family and I decided to leave that post. I wrote to the Education Department to move from my role and move to teaching. Initially, they were reluctant, but they had to do it. Though, currently, I am Head of a Department, this job is comparatively less stressful and tiring”.
(Senior Interviewee, 3)

One of the participants had worked in the private sector for several years before moving to a public sector university. Her response indicated that she preferred to work in a public university as compared to a private one but she was unhappy with the work demands:

“I have different work experience [...]. Once I held a highly prestigious managerial job in the private sector. In this workplace there were different kinds of projects to work on. In spite of the fact that the job was very authoritative, and had many associated benefits I could not cope with the work pressures. I left that organization and joined this university, assuming that in the public sector, the workload might be less but I found that it was similar juggling with organizational pressures, [...] (Senior Interviewee, 4)

Although the evidence was limited it did seem that job requirements and workload might be one of the factors which contributed to the relative lack of women's representation in senior management positions. It appeared that work pressures and health issues simultaneously had a significant impact on the participants as well as their family members. Sometimes the women chose to put their family first.

7.8 Queen bee syndrome

The participants literally used the phrase “Queen Bee syndrome” to signify that women in positions of power sometimes tried to keep other women marginalized. Queen Bee syndrome which focuses on individual women's behavior towards female subordinates was outlined in chapter 2). With respect to Queen Bee syndrome, one of the participants suggested that *“Women who rise to the top have had a very difficult professional journey therefore they become bitter in their attitude and obsessed with maintaining their authority”*.

A significant number of the participants (72.9%) revealed that women bosses were less inclined to help their female subordinates. They did not give guidance or support to their juniors. They indicated that it was commonly assumed that women faced difficulty in the selection process if the interview committee was made up with a majority of male members but they argued that women should not place responsibility on male members only for their underrepresentation in senior management positions, women were also responsible. Most of the participants agreed that the composition of such committees was an issue in their appointment and promotion. Sometimes they had to face problems created by their own gender. The participants reported that women bosses were more likely to give female candidates a ‘hard time’. This had a negative effect on their promotion to senior positions:

“At the time of my promotion there were both male and female members on the interview panel but the person who opposed my promotion was a senior woman. [...]. I could not understand why she had opposed my promotion to the next higher grade over just a minor issue that I was not computer literate. This was not a big issue. She ignored my degree and work experience of 20 years in the same field. She kept emphasizing her point of view. This went against me. I could not be promoted at that time; instead a male was selected for that post [...]. Who should I blame for that?” (Senior Interviewee, 9)

The majority of participants expressed their distress when talking about unsupportive female bosses. They were of the view that women should support each other to reach senior management positions but they acted otherwise. They exhibited ruthless and non-

cooperative behavior to other females and tried their level best to harm their careers .Consequently, most women were frustrated working for female bosses:

“I have had a very bad experience [...]. I have hardly seen supportive women. They are very possessive. They do not want to see other women in their positions. [...] I understand that you may not have enough time to listen my stories but I can speak for hours and hours on how a female boss created the maximum possible hurdles to my career promotion. This is not only me [...].This is a burning issue. I have often heard other women complaining that senior female executives play a negative role and put hurdles in their way. This is very sad”. (Senior Interviewee, 22)

The data also revealed that some women bosses were not considerate in relation to women’s work-family issues. They refused to be sympathetic in times of need despite there being a need to support women in the universities. On the contrary, women felt that there were difficulties working under female bosses. They found them hostile and non-cooperative. Instead, participants anticipated more positive behavior from male bosses towards work-family issues:

“I was living in a joint family system. I never had any difficulty with childcare [...]. Once my mother in law was not well. My little son was at home. Our maidservant could not come that day. I got a phone call from my husband about the situation. I went to my female boss and asked her for a short leave. She turned my application down and replied ruthlessly, *“this is not my headache, and you women folk always provide lame excuses to get back home before time [...]* If there was a male boss, instead, I don’t think he would have shown this kind of behavior. I am sure he would let me leave earlier [...]. Truly speaking I don’t want to work under women heads, they are more finicky and less considerate.” (Junior Interviewee, 41)

One of the participants used the phrase “*women harass women*” and indicated that “*though senior women should make the workplace more female friendly conversely they*

make things worse for women.” Participants also suggested that some senior female staff enjoyed talking against other women colleagues even in front of male colleagues. In these circumstances, women felt threatened:

“My experience at the initial phase of my professional life was very difficult. I was harassed by my female boss on different organizational and home matters [...]. Whenever I complained about a work related issue to my female boss, nothing was done about them. Whenever I discussed family constraints, instead of being considerate, she consistently remarked upon and made fun of my problems. She discussed them openly to make me feel embarrassed [...]” (Junior Interviewee, 43)

The participants of the focus group summarized the situation but also indicated that there were women in positions of power who did support other women:

“It can be said that 10 percent of female bosses are supportive, kind, and considerate. They provide role models for other women [...] but the rest of the 90 percent of female leaders’ are not at all supportive [...]” (Focus group)

From the interviews there was a strong perception that the women who were in key positions were not supportive of other women. The majority of the participants did not want to work for female bosses. They believed that other women at some point in their careers had undermined them. According to these findings, professional women faced a double hurdle in attaining senior positions in universities. They had to compete with male prejudice and in parallel they were threatened by their own gender despite the fact that “women already in high positions should try to support other women and affirm them and not close the doors on them once they are inside” (Zulu, 2003:103).

7.9 Academic associations /issue of networking

Ismail & Rasdi (2007) suggest that formal and informal networks provide an essential element of support for their members in gaining information about career development opportunities. Lewis (2006) suggests that women are more disadvantaged than their

male colleagues as they do not take an active part in the range of associations which are proven to be an important resource of organizational support in many contexts.

The findings showed that in Pakistan different kinds of formal and informal unions and federations are established at university level to provide the necessary support for employment and career development opportunities to their members. They try to ensure a peaceful administrative and academic environment, for example, the Federation of All Pakistan Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA) and the Academic and Staff Association (ASA) the latter particularly in mixed universities. The research found no evidence of the existence of such associations in the women only universities.

The participants explained that women became members of these associations by virtue of occupying an administrative or academic position in the university. However, the committees of such organizations were predominantly male. Men held the key positions. Candidates were nominated based on gender:

“It is on the record that women are never encouraged to be nominated for the major positions of the different unions. These organizations have late evening meetings and actively function through frequent socialization among members. Pakistani women could not meet with these requirements because of their social set up. Men always hold the key positions.” (Senior Interviewee, 24)

Participants were asked about the importance and role that staff unions, professional organizations and networks played in their career development. Participants believed that these networks were crucial and could help them in accessing resources and powerful positions. They reported that male members nominated and supported their male colleagues in elections for representative positions on these statutory bodies. In return, representatives gave preference to their male colleagues in relation to employment and career promotions:

“Men have strong formal and informal meeting points which serve to bond them. [...]. They disseminate information about new opportunities and avenues [...] They gather at one place like crows,

even when they go out for smoking they stand together and talk on different issues of mutual interest. They join different associations. They go together for evening walks. They have very close contacts. Women lack of this kind of opportunity. ” (Key Informant, 4)

The participants emphasized that due to certain limitations it was difficult for them to get into these networks and promote supportive contacts. They indicated that one of the barriers women faced was the fact that they were women. They themselves were not keen to join the informal networks which served to unite males:

“At college level I was the president of the students union. I have the temperament for such activities. My colleagues tried to persuade me to submit myself to be elected for the teacher/staff association. I was not persuaded to present myself as a potential candidate [...]. Males have their own circle, different timings to meet, usually they meet in the evenings, after office hours or mostly at dinners. I do not feel at home with such informal meetings at odd hours”. (Junior Interviewee, 46)

The participants also said that though they were part of such organizations as voters and committees were expected to be fair, they did not believe that this was the case. Such male-dominated associations often created problems for the women’s careers. *“Sometimes they have abused this power for suppressing all those who did not agree with them”*.

Men have opportunities for informal networking with their immediate boss. Most of the participants said that due to social norms they could not pay frequent visits to their boss’s office. They spent the majority of their time in their offices and paid visits to the office of their male boss only for official reasons. Their professional life generally revolved around the activities within their own offices as it was not appreciated if women did not accept such boundaries. However, males were free from these limitations:

“Male colleagues are very open in their working relationship with their boss. In our culture women have to take care in such matters. They cannot meet frequently with their male bosses. They have to maintain a distance and remain reserved. This hinders them in developing informal networks. Males have no such boundaries to keep. They develop good working relationships with their bosses. This is another reason for preference being given to male over female colleagues. Males get a head start in availing themselves of different opportunities.” (Senior Interviewee, 1)

The participants indicated that they were members of formal committees at department and university level and that all of the academic, administrative and financial activities of the university were managed and regulated by these committees. However, presence at the committee meetings was insufficient as women’s views were not taken into consideration when compared to men. They were ignored while important decisions were being made on official matters. In this way not only was women’s self-esteem damaged but they were also excluded from important decisions. This was unfair:

“In order to ensure female participation, having women on a committee was not an issue. Women are seen in every formal committee, but the real problem is that we are not being heard [...]. Once, in a meeting chaired by the chairman of HEC, I pointed out an important issue three times, literally three times. But when the minutes of the meeting were published, it appeared that my point of view was not even recorded. I wrote to the chair about it. Then it was done. However, the real question was about its implementation [...] I could give you hundreds of such examples”. (Senior Interviewee, 16)

Regarding the networking issue the study found twofold problems; on the one hand women were not eagerly accepted into high positions in organizational associations and on the other, in the local context they themselves found it nearly impossible to socialize with males in semi-formal or work-related contexts. They themselves were

hesitant to freely attend and talk with males in informal work settings. This situation had a significant impact on their careers in different ways.

7.10 Political interference in universities

Wilder (2009) states that “Pakistan’s colonial heritage has heavily influenced its political culture as well as its bureaucratic and political institutions.” According to Junaidi (2012), “*political interference in universities’ affairs has become routine. The political parties send their lists of persons to be appointed in the university*”. He further reports that a woman vice-chancellor of a Pakistani university who was appointed for four years but had resigned from her post with no reason given had experienced political pressure regarding appointments and the university’s grant was stopped because she was not ready to give in to political pressure. The President of the Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA) also acknowledged that “*Political interference in universities was a common feature*” (Dawn, 2012). However, political pressure victimises men and women. Amjad, (2011) reports “*The appointment of university leaders in Pakistan has become highly politicized. Many positions are being left unfilled for long periods.*” “Political clashes between political parties over the appointment of vice-chancellors can cause delays in appointing university leaders.

In the context of the current research, the majority of the participants (72.9%) said that appointments particularly in key positions were not made on merit. The government played a part in shaping and influencing selection policy and decision-making locally. One participant also hinted that political factors had a major influence on her not being selected for a most senior management position:

“It was terrible. I was affected by the politics of the country. I was one of the candidates for the post of vice-chancellor but my application was rejected for reasons unknown [...]. However, it was fact that there was an obvious political factor. If politicians will keep on interfering in university matters, nobody will be selected on merit” (Senior Interviewee, 16)

A few of the women were of the opinion that due to political pressure they had been unable to be promoted at the expected pace, though they met the selection criteria.

They had applied for advertised posts but the person appointed had strong political affiliations:

“There is political pressure on managerial positions in universities for admissions and jobs etc. Therefore, for Registrar and Controller’s positions, males have been appointed, assuming that women are weaker and cannot take political pressure [...], although this is not true, there are females who have proved themselves”. (Senior Interviewee, 28)

The research revealed that one of the biggest issues was that appointments were mostly politically driven. Women in Pakistan also found it difficult to establish their careers in competition with men when there were political constraints. One of the participants sent me a news clipping supporting her interview. On 13th January 2013; in the feature, the *Educated Peshawar*, the Peshawar, Khyber monthly journal online²⁷ was the following:

“The provincial president of the Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA) on Saturday criticized the Vice Chancellors' search committee for violating merit rules while suggesting the recommended list of VCs to the Governor. He said the committee was not neutral and even some members of the committee were candidates for the VC slot. He blamed the government for just wanting a few acceptable professors while ignoring many who deserved the position. He demanded that the government appoint VCs in universities on merit but not on political affiliation. He said FAPUSA would not support any VC being appointed on a political basis as according to him universities were already collapsing due to designating undeserving VCs in most public sector universities. He requested that the Governor and Chancellor of all public sector universities should take immediate action on this matter.”

²⁷ <http://thepeshawar.com/index.php/news-and-events/522-fapusa-blames-vc-search-committee-for-bias>

7.11 Chapter Summary

The analysis of the interview data showed that organizational constraints acted as strong barriers to the participants' career progression. It hampered their entry into management positions and restrained their progression to senior management positions. Many of the barriers they reported were not easily visible.

The research revealed that experience rather than qualifications was central in appointments and promotions for both men and women for senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan but because of their late entry into the management field women tended to lack general management and administrative experience. Consequently, they lagged behind men.

Government initiatives were perceived by most of the participants as supportive in providing different opportunities for women to enhance their careers. However, practices and procedures allowed bias and favoritism in selection and appointment procedures. Overall, women continued to be granted less career development opportunities, with their paths obstructed through a range of organizational factors.

In some instances, participants reported work harassment. On many occasions this was from women in senior positions who were not supportive of their more junior colleagues.

One of the major hurdles towards women's career progression was the fact that they were not an active member of formal or informal associations in universities. Political pressure was also a factor which played a significant role and negatively affected the selection and appointment process.

The next chapter focuses on the personal factors the interviewed women described as constraints for their career success.

CHAPTER 8 PERSONAL CONSTRAINTS

8.1 Introduction

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focused on the second research question and presented evidence relating to the familial, societal and organisational constraints experienced by women in pursuing careers in higher education management. In continuation, this chapter focuses on women's personal constraints. While, the participants had managed to access management positions, they still faced barriers and challenges in achieving further progress. The personal constraints which emerged from the interviews were less obvious than those discussed in previous chapters but nevertheless were critical in preventing participants from putting themselves forward for promotion. The theme personal constraints along with its sub-themes is discussed in the following sections with descriptive examples selected from the participant's responses to explain the ways in which participants' perceived deficiencies in relation to their personal and professional attributes which limited their progress to senior management positions. The themes include:

Perceived lack of personal attributes

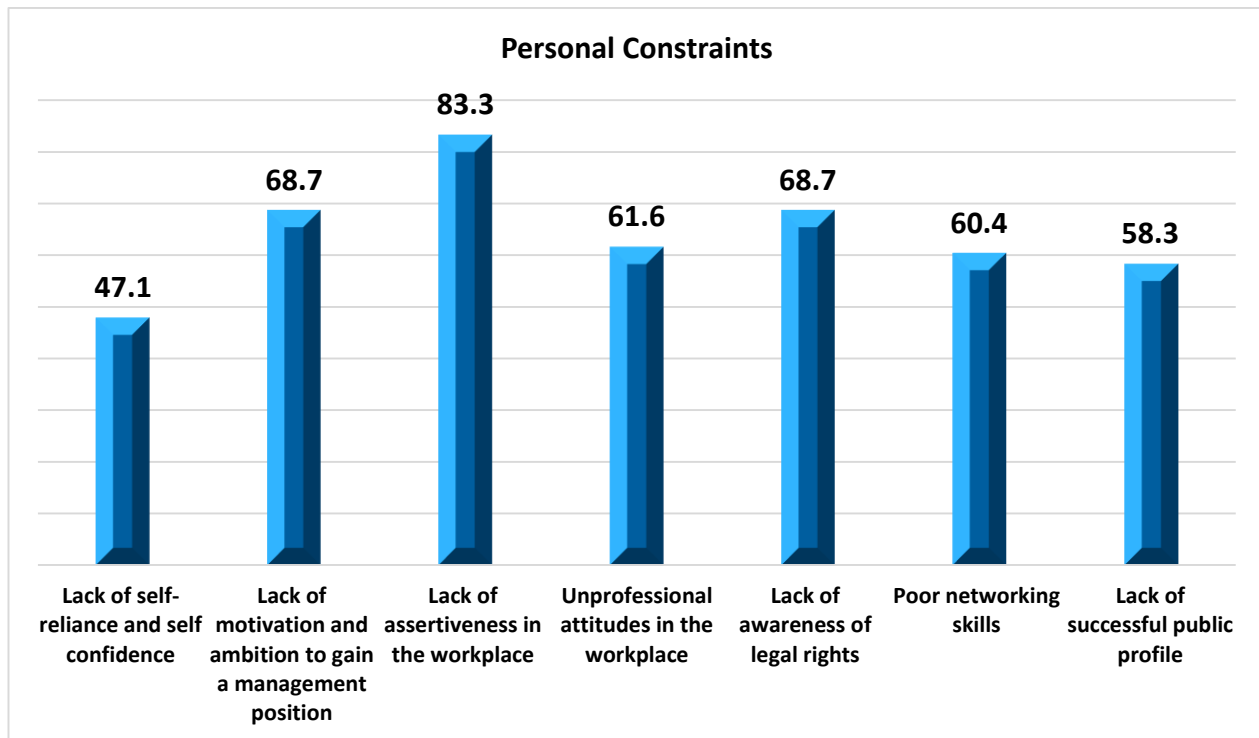
- lack of self-reliance and self-confidence
- lack of motivation and ambition to gain a management position

Perceived lack of professional attributes

- lack of assertiveness in the workplace;
- unprofessional attitudes in the workplace;
- lack of awareness of legal rights;
- poor networking skills;
- lack of successful public profiles

Figure 8.1 shows the percentage of participant's self-perceptions in relation to the fourth main theme personal constraints (for the frequency of responses, see appendix 8 A).

Figure 8.1 Personal factors influencing women’s career progression



8.2 Perceived lack of personal attributes

This section sets out examples of the seven emerging themes relating to personal factors influencing women’s career progression.

8.2.1 Lack of self-reliance and self-confidence

The perceived lack of personal attributes included those relating to the self-beliefs such as a lack of confidence in their abilities to succeed in senior position. This is important as a positive self-image produces optimistic behavior that is vital to living a self-regulating, dynamic and responsible life (Mathipa, and Tsoka, 2001). Morgan et al. (1981:531) suggest that “a person’s self-concept is a direct consequence of the developmental processes and experiences, she or he has had”. With reference to the findings emerging from the interviews a key informant indicated that generally women were reluctant to apply for senior management positions. They did not put themselves forward as potential candidates for the positions advertised, although they were appropriately qualified to apply. The key informant sent me a newspaper clipping published in ‘The Express Tribune’ on April 18th, 2012 which stated that: “*Nearly half of the 49 applicants were either senior faculty members or administrative staff for the post of vice-Chancellor for*

FUUAST²⁸ [...] The only female candidate for the job is Sindh University's Dr ...” [...] the appointment of a male candidate was approved by the search committee as the vice - chancellor of the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology”.

The lack of applicants may also impact on the behavior of interview panels. As Poskitt (1999) suggests those wishing to appoint women are often discouraged by insufficient female applicants. This situation cannot be attributed to a shortage of appropriately trained professional women. Elsevier (2001) argues that women always underestimate their potential.

Another key informant also commented that women were less likely than men to submit job applications for posts for which they were appropriately qualified. Men did not hesitate to apply for senior positions whether they fulfilled the job requirements completely or partially:

“Due to the nature of my job, I have direct contact with university management regardless of gender and seniority. In general, I have observed that comparatively, women, despite their good qualifications have lower self-confidence compared to men. Men are more confident and have a high level of self-confidence in putting themselves forward. [...] women hold back, despite having good qualifications”. (Key Informant, 4)

Nearly half of the participants (47.9%) revealed low self-confidence with respect to their management capabilities. They were either less confident in their professional abilities or found the organizational environment highly competitive. Their lack of self- esteem in applying for more challenging roles marginalized them:

“I am believed to be quite a disciplined person. Everybody says I am well organized [...] committed, and so on [...] Yes, I am [...]. I know how to manage my time, how to keep a balance between home and

²⁸Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science & Technology (Pakistan)

work. [...] I want to deliver to the best of my abilities. But at the same time I understand that to work in the most senior management positions requires more qualities [...], a charismatic personality [...], which I feel I don't possess [...]. In a few years I will be retiring but I never thought to apply for the post of vice-chancellor, though, on the basis of my qualifications and experience I am quite eligible to apply. But I have no ambition for that". (Senior Interviewee, 17)

In other instances, interviewees aspired to progress to senior management positions but were afraid of the challenging tasks and duties associated with such positions. Their lack of self-confidence was manifested in their cautious approach to applying for management positions and promotions:

"I am eligible for the next higher grade. Parallel to the management cadre a faculty position has also been announced. I am thinking of applying for the teaching side because a higher management position requires different skills than teaching [...]. If I was appointed to a higher management position, I would have to be present at every activity outside the office. I would have to speak at many forums but I am not confident enough at being effective in meetings. I can't face too many public events [...] Despite this, I feel that senior management positions in our country are very attractive and associated with many benefits [...] I cannot decide what I should do" (Senior Interviewee, 5)

The data showed that people had negative perceptions of their female colleagues. They considered that women themselves were responsible for their absence from senior management. A key informant indicated that some women, who had succeeded to get to the top levels, still had feelings of low self-confidence. They did not speak publically. They felt uncomfortable with argument and discussion. They avoided being visible in public forums. Although these attributes were not included in selection criteria they were perceived as impacting negatively on women's selection for senior management positions:

“[...] Once I accompanied a group of senior managers to a foreign country to attend an international meeting for university administrators. During the sessions I observed that most of the arguments originated from male colleagues. Female participants kept quiet [...]. Realizing that I tried to cover up the gap from the women’s side, though relatively, I was younger [...]. Despite that I participated in the group discussions. This kind of behavior is unacceptable for senior women. They shouldn’t behave like that [...]. They need to speak up if they want to be recognized [...] but they never spoke during the meetings [...]. This destroys the image of women leaders”. [...] (Key Informant, 3)

One participant acknowledged that she was not able to speak confidently in public:

“Yet this is indeed a skill that a good leader must have but I still get nervous while asking questions at conferences or seminars, even during the meetings. Actually I am introverted. I feel happy working while in the office and try to avoid this kind of situation which I find difficult. [...] This is the only thing which is beyond my control otherwise I enjoy my senior position”. (Senior Interviewee, 17)

The junior participants also acknowledged that getting their point of view across during important discussions was significant for their careers but they were not confident about the strength of their arguments. This led them to keep quiet and not contribute to official meetings and conferences. While they were clearly aspiring to high level administrative positions, a few of them were afraid of not being able to cope with the most senior positions:

“I could not speak up and express myself even when on most occasions I have something important to add to the discussion [...]. We are four women working in the same office in equal positions. I am satisfied with my work inside the office and managing my files on the computer. Whenever representation of our office is required, I always wish that my other colleagues would go. [...] There is no doubt that I want to attain a

senior position. This is my utmost desire [...] but the main question is how I would cope with the job requirements”. (Junior Interviewee, 41)

The data showed that personal constraints were believed to limit women’s confidence in applying for senior management positions. The participants exhibited low self-confidence, despite the fact that they were fully qualified and sufficiently experienced to apply for such positions. They held negative self-perceptions and lacked self-assurance in their work abilities.

8.2.2 Lack of motivation and ambition to gain a management position

The motivating force in pursuing any occupation is often assumed to be a significant factor in defining career aspirations (Burke and Mattis, 2005). Career aspirations are conditioned by different factors such as gender, socioeconomic position, social environment, parents’ occupational environment, academic credentials (Watson et al., 2002). The data revealed that 68.7 percent of the participants lacked motivation and ambition to gain a management position. A key informant suggested that women’s relatively low career aspirations and career behaviors were related to the real hurdles that they faced to their career advancement. Women themselves were often unenthusiastic about accepting management positions:

“Very few women have the aptitude and motivation to participate in senior management positions” (Key informant, 6)

The participants acknowledged that they had a lack of career ambition. They had low aspirations for acquiring such a leading role. They had not planned a career path to a top position. They had proceeded with their career in an unplanned manner or attained a management position either accidentally or in fulfilling parental aspirations:

“Honestly speaking, I was not interested in my higher education but my father was keen on my studies [...]. When I did my PhD my parents thought I should take a job [...], so I did [...]. I never demanded anything. I didn’t desire a leading position. All is blessings of Allah²⁹

²⁹Arabic word for God

who has given me this high status. I never wanted to become the chairperson and Head of Department. It is well known to everybody here in this university that twice I refused the position of chairperson. I had developed some kind of conflict over this issue but despite my resistance I had to do it [...] Actually, I have no temperament to be a manager or leader. I never wanted to be what I am now. I want to be good looking and charming. I want to wear good clothes. The beautiful dresses of brides attract me a lot. To be very honest, these are the truths of my life”. [...] (Senior Interviewee, 15)

The data further revealed that women often needed to be persuaded by others to apply for management positions. In some instances their spouse's influence on their career was stronger than their own choices:

“Once I applied for a Vice-Chancellor's position but I did not do so by myself. My husband convinced me to do so, although I was not fully convinced but just respected his wishes and idea [...]. He prepared all the papers for me and completed the due requirements for the application [...]. I just appeared before the interview panel [...] However, I was not appointed which is not surprising at all”. [Laughed] (Senior Interviewee, 2)

Another senior participant perceived that her senior position was due to her work experience in the field not her own aspirations. She was committed to her previous teaching job:

“I came to the management cadre through the passage of time. Due to my seniority, I was appointed as the Head of the Department [...] However, parallel to the management role, I feel pleasure and satisfaction while teaching [...] I have no such feelings relating to management work, sometimes I feel this is absolutely a thankless task”. (Senior Interviewee, 25)

Low career aspirations also led to less interest among junior participants in attempting to obtain high level management positions. Although they were educated and experienced, they did not see themselves in more senior management positions. They had been persuaded and advised by others to take up available opportunities:

“I did not apply for my first induction to a management position. The vice-chancellor of this university knew of my experience and qualifications therefore, I was called up and offered the job [...] Although, I was quite reluctant because it was not my choice. I am still planning to go for an academic role. Whenever the opportunity is available I will do that”. (Junior Interviewee, 29)

A few participants got their management position because when they had completed their degrees, opportunities were available. They applied for and got a position:

“To complete my degree requirements I had to do an internship in this office for three months. The senior officer was impressed with my managerial skills. After completion of my degree I was offered this job. I accepted it as at that time there was no other job available and I wanted to have a job. [...] Since then I have carried on working here but continuously feel uncomfortable with management responsibility. It seems, this is not for me [...] although, and through the passage of time I have enough experience and am qualified with the required skills and experience. But I would not be interested in a further senior position and want to go for teaching”. (Junior Interviewee, 38)

The research also revealed that some of the participants were hesitant to work in departments where hard work was required. They wished to direct their career goals towards less challenging positions and wanted to follow a simpler career path:

“I am not too keen on being in a senior post in this department [...] I am happy with my present position. In particular, the department in which I am currently working is very sensitive and requires a high level of confidentiality to ensure that the information and particular files are not

approached by unauthorized persons. [...] If I became overall in charge, I would be accountable for different matters and issues [...] I want to remain away from all that”. (Junior Interviewee, 46)

Some of the senior participants also did not aspire to the most senior positions. They reported that they were satisfied in their current role. They lacked clear aspirations to be in the most powerful positions. They had little concern for their career progress. They had not planned to get a higher degree which was a prerequisite for the most senior positions

“I never thought about getting my PhD [...] though there were several opportunities available when I could get a scholarship for studying abroad, because I was working in the department which awarded grants to get higher degrees to the students. I was not interested at all in spending my life in studies. I have no such aspiration [...] what I have acquired is enough”. (Junior³⁰ Interviewee 30)

Some of the participants who had taken on a management position did so because they did not consider that they had appropriate skills to be successful university teachers. According to them, university level teaching required high level skills and they did not feel that they were competent to meet these requirements. Therefore they preferred to have an administrative role:

“I wished to apply for an academic position but to be honest I think to deliver, one must have a sound knowledge of a relevant subject and proper qualifications [...] At the moment, the degree I have is enough to work in my current management position, but not enough to deliver at university level. [...] Furthermore, to deliver, you have to prepare yourself. I am not that kind of person. Therefore in management I am happy [...] at least you don’t have to prepare a lecture at night [...] I just finish my daily work and go home”. (Senior Interviewee, 28)

³⁰Recently promoted to a senior position

The interview data suggested that women's relatively low career aspirations constituted barriers to their career advancement. Some women did not want to pursue a management career path, therefore they held back from seeking advancement into senior roles.

8.3 Perceived lack of professional attributes

In addition to personal constraints, the data revealed that there was a perceived lack of professional attributes including the attitudes of participants towards their profession which were related to their career behavior, assertiveness, networking skills and professionalism. This deficiency hampered their career progression in the ways set out in the following sections.

8.3.1 Lack of assertiveness in the workplace

Assertiveness is perceived as a desirable trait and is defined as the ability to express one's thoughts and to stand up for one's own rights in a way that does not neglect the rights of others (Astrong, 1991). It is the skill to communicate the appropriate expression of feelings, needs opinions, and ideas in a confident and direct manner while respecting the feelings of others (Ibid). It is often believed that women lack this very important aspect of leadership. Consequently, it is considered as one of the barriers to their career development (Mathipa and Tsoka, 2006).

The data revealed that most of the problems relating to the non-assertive behavior of the participants was in the workplace. The majority of the interviewees (83.3%) were not assertive in their dealings with others and this constrained them in attaining their rights. This presented a major obstacle to their career advancement. One of the participants shared how one of her colleagues lost her chance for promotion and although the action of the university authorities was morally and professionally inappropriate she did not protest:

“Once, she was in a foreign country attending an international conference. During the conference she got an interview call from her university. The interview was scheduled within a week. She had to shorten her trip, and skip the remaining conference programs. She made every effort to change her flight and managed to get back for the morning of the interview. Five minutes before the interview the relevant

administrator said: *“there was an ambiguity about your eligibility, therefore you cannot be called for interview [...] Oh, my goodness! [...] It was the height of irrationality [...] It was 100% true that they gave a false excuse and wanted to select their own favorite [...] She had full rights to file a case against them. [...] She took no action. I personally tried to convince her to do something. She said leave it, otherwise they might develop a grudge against me. This was about 7 years ago and she is still working at the same grade”*. (Senior Interviewee, 16)

The research suggested that regardless of professional expertise and performance, lack of assertiveness in the workplace remained an issue for most of the participants. They were hesitant to take the appropriate steps against any unfair treatment and did not attempt to get justice. Consequently, they faced failure at different stages of their career promotion:

“I was successfully working in charge of a university department. The innovations I had made were well known and appreciated by everyone. One day out of the blue, I received a letter asking me to hand over the responsibility. The decision was entirely unjustified and was based on the personal likes and dislikes of another senior person involved. It was apparent that the experience which I was gaining ultimately would provide me with the basis to be eligible for a further senior management post. Therefore, abruptly, the responsibility was withdrawn from me. Even during this process a senior person [she named that person] ignored the institutional code of conduct and used very inappropriate language [...] I wanted to appeal against this unjustified and unfair decision which would affect my seniority. I was very perturbed over the situation. [...] I drafted the appeal letter but could not convince myself to send it.” (Senior Interviewee, 21)

Another participant was also clearly treated unfairly in a selection and promotion process. She did not have enough courage to stand up for her rights. She found it a very challenging and difficult task. This had a profound impact on her professional life and career:

“Despite my qualifications, when another candidate was given preference over me with less qualifications and experience, my colleagues, friends and family members asked me to seek justice from the court. But I did not do that. [...] though it was obvious that I could easily win the case. But I thought I would be penalized in the future”. (Senior Interviewee, 10)

The key informants also associated assertiveness as important in bringing about change. They argued that if women exposed organizational issues courageously, responsible people would be more careful in future. In contrast, men did not forgive anyone who might hamper their careers:

“There is a faculty lounge for all academic staff and administrators to spend their free time. I noticed that male faculty members openly discussed their personal concerns over organizational issues which were likely to affect them. [...]. I have never heard any women speaking about their concerns like men do [...] I personally can identify female colleagues who were marginalized at different times in their career but they never found the courage to pin point such unfair practices [...]. Generally, women working in the university sit in a corner of the faculty lounge, having tea and reading newspapers. If they have any organizational concerns they speak only to those who are close to them. Otherwise they try to hide their problems”. (Key Informant, 2)

Further to this, the junior participants reported that whenever senior colleagues had a matter that they did not want to deal with themselves, they passed it on to their junior colleagues. Whenever they asked them to do something that was outside the code of conduct, they never refused. Senior staff tried to take advantage of their non-assertive nature. One of the participants narrated the case of a colleague, who did not assert herself in relation to a demand from her senior colleague. This inability to say “no” worked to the detriment of her career:

“[...]. She was brilliant. If she had continued with her job, certainly, she would have been promoted to a higher position. But a very sad

thing happened to her [...]. She managed the personal files of all university employees and her immediate boss asked her to insert a paper in a personal file. Despite the fact that she believed this shouldn't be done, she couldn't say "no" to her immediate boss and did what she wanted [...]. After a year when the employee concerned who had a high level of authority found the information in her file was different from before, she suspected that something was wrong. The matter was investigated thoroughly. She was found guilty. Consequently, she had to pay the price and was dismissed from her job". (Junior Interviewee, 41)

The research suggested that lack of assertiveness was a barrier to women's advancement to senior positions. In times of need they did not show sufficient courage to demand their rights and let others take advantage of the situation. Thus, they lagged behind others in selection processes and subsequent promotion. The participants themselves felt that a lack of assertiveness to take action against unjustified prejudiced attitudes cost a lot in career terms.

8.3.2 Unprofessional attitudes in the workplace

Professionalism is how an individual behaves in the workplace. Being a professional requires maturity, integrity and self-awareness (Tomlinson, 2004). Professionalism is considered key to success and advancement (Reamer, 2009). However, a number of studies have noted generally negative perceptions of women as professionals (Deal and Stevenson, 1998). Generally, women's attitudes to the workplace were critically viewed by the participants. The majority of the participants in the focus group discussion were of the opinion that though women continued to make a major impact through their management abilities and a number of women were taking up significant roles within the country and had succeeded in managing successfully and professionally and were seen as good role models of those organisation's values, they generally lacked professional attitudes.

The research also revealed that the majority of interviewees (61.6%) believed that women lacked professional attitudes in the workplace. The absence of such attributes not only undermined their abilities and potential but also limited the prospects of other women for being considered for promotion to senior management positions. The participants

elaborated the generally held perceptions of women about themselves, the classification and identification of themselves as being the second gender a role which women had created for themselves. They indicated that some women tended to avoid difficult work assignments believing that some tasks were beyond their management capacity and best handled by men:

“A few women have spoiled the image of other women. Whenever there was a university event where different tasks had to be done effectively, I used to create different events committees and distribute different tasks among all staff members. [...] Usually a committee comprised both males and females but some women would side line themselves by saying to their male colleagues, could you please do me a favor, you know I cannot do that. Or they would say I have to leave early therefore it would be impossible for me to complete this [...]. Their attitude suggests that certain tasks are beyond their capacity. Further, they suggest that being a woman they require extra care for themselves and want to be looked after [...] They should behave as a professional not as a woman even if it takes more time or requires more energy” (Senior Interviewee, 16)

A few senior participants verified the above information by sharing their experiences and observations of how some female colleagues wanted to be supported by their male colleagues when it came to work-related tasks. They explained that male colleagues used to take on the work of these women. While these offers were often perceived as desirable and apparently advantageous, for the women this acted negatively for their career. These offers actually benefited men not women. Women showed themselves to be weaker and men comparatively stronger to handle problems and difficult situations. A senior participant gave a glaring example of an unprofessional attitude in a woman:

“One of my female colleagues, who was a member of a committee received an offer from one of her male colleagues to look after her assigned work to enable her to leave for her home to look after her home responsibilities. This should not have been acceptable to that female colleague but she not only happily accepted the offer but was also obliged for the generous offer and perceived this member of

staff to be very kind hearted to recognise the problems of others [...] Women should not ignore difficult issues. They must realize that every official assignment must be done by them as they are paid for their responsibilities. But they don't understand that this is a weakness. They take it as their right". (Senior Interviewee, 6)

One of the participants reported another example of the non-professional attitude of one of the most senior woman in the university. She recognized that some women felt happy to blame external factors for the poor numbers of women in management, but they generally failed to exhibit professional behavior:

"Attitude reflects leadership [...]. What do you do about the woman leader who gossips about employees, discussing their personal appearance, family matters? [...] Once we had such lady in a most senior leadership position [...]. Whosoever used to visit her office, the first thing she always said to them was '*You are looking very smart; your earrings are beautiful, well matched with your clothes, where did you buy them, how much for?*'" [...] She discussed their family matters [...] She put personal talk above professional matters. She never seemed to be worried about organizational concerns [...] she might have been expecting favor by praising others [...] but all employees have the wisdom to judge things critically. She was not liked by all for her non- professional attitude. I personally heard a male colleague say "*A lady who behaves like this won't be able to take the organization further*" Such women have destroyed the image of a female boss". (Senior Interviewee, 16)

One of the participants narrated the situation of someone who always behaved unprofessionally in the workplace without even noticing it:

"One of our senior colleagues who has two children, during every holiday, mostly on Saturdays she used to bring both to her office [...] Soon after their arrival they occupy the whole of her office. One sits in her office chair, putting his drawing book on the table, and coloring in

it. The other sits in her computer chair tampers with her office computer and plays video games. She always justifies this with a smiling face ‘whenever their schools are closed I ask them to come along with me. They always love to come as there are so many things in my office that attract them’ ”. (Senior Interviewee, 28)

The interview data revealed that non-professional behaviours exhibited by women themselves added to women’s under-representation at senior management levels. It was reported that a few women had created this perception by avoiding taking up challenging tasks. They self-selected easy responsibilities and put in less effort than men in the workplace. To meet the requirements of a senior leadership role requires extra effort and a willingness to contribute.

8.3.3 Lack of awareness of legal rights

68.7 percent of the participants reported that women were unaware of their legal rights in organizations. Lack of information about the university acts/ordinances not only affected their legal rights but also deprived them of professional development opportunities. This appeared to contribute to the overall underrepresentation of women in senior management positions. The majority of the senior participants argued that it was crucial for all women to raise their understanding regarding all kinds of rules and regulations written in organizational documents or laid down by government departments, if they really aspired to senior positions. One of the participants shared her experience and explained how she lagged behind others in career development until she became aware of her rights and fought against unfavorable circumstances which were hindering her progress in the workforce:

“[...] My request for university funding to get higher education was turned down many times [...] I never asked the relevant authorities why it always happened to me, I just kept on applying, [...] In the meantime the situation changed in the sense that my junior colleagues got senior grades on the basis of their qualifications [...] This left me in a very depressed position. [...] Then I consulted my father, he consulted the university’s legal advisor who explained and advised about many things that I could do [...] A few eye opening facts encouraged me to think that I should pursue my case. So

I did [...] Along with my next application I drafted a file and put all the photocopies of previous applications in it and asked the authorities to provide me with a valid reason why I had been refused so many times [...] because clause so and so suggested that I am quite eligible for that [...] Things changed drastically [...] Since there was no valid reason behind the rejection of my requests, they could not escape by giving false justifications [...] Finally, I succeeded. I got funding for my higher degree [...]. As a result I attained this senior position [...] but I admit that, including me, normally women don't do that. They accept whatever has been imposed on them because mostly they don't have knowledge of rules and regulations. This is a serious dilemma". (Senior Interviewee, 20)

Further to this, the data revealed that, compared to men, women did not bother to learn about rules and regulations. Therefore, they did not feel confident about pursuing issues. Consequently, they were not able to protect their rights in their organizations:

"I always observed that men in the meeting referred in their contribution to rules and policies. For example they used to quote that "*clause so and so suggests that ...* [...] and impress others and show themselves as sound. This is the reason men are always confident about the validity of their arguments, that what they have talked about is absolutely right [...] I have never seen women talking like that. They are not confident about giving their point of view and speaking confidently". (Key Informant, 6)

The data showed that women's ignorance about their rights and unfamiliarity with organizational rules and regulations brought many challenges for them. With regards to their selection and promotion many issues arose for them in organizations. Taking a stand in the workplace was perceived as helping women to succeed rather than letting outside influences dictate their employment positions.

8.3.4 Poor networking skills

Generally, women have fewer support networks within organizations (Coleman, 2011). The interviewees indicated that although women had their own networks and that these

might help them to develop their own contacts, these were not very useful as they found it difficult to attend meetings regularly. Senior participants who were already successful wanted to create a platform where other women could feel comfortable talking about themselves, their ambitions and their career needs. Realizing that such forums were lacking and were necessary for professional growth and career progress, a few women had made an effort and tried to develop close contacts with working women inside the university. However, the majority of the women (60.4%) did not actively participate in such gatherings and forms;

“[...] I along with a few other talented and ambitious women made a joint effort and sought out the practicalities [...]. We were able to develop a forum in the university. We invited every woman working in the university to attend and make it successful. We made them realize that its objective was in their best interests [...]. Believe me at every meeting female participation was not more than 30%, even less. There were members who never came. They always provided lame excuses [...]. It was a hopeless response [...]. Even in what is normal routine, the university's annual dinner, the majority of them never attended [...]. The important thing to note is that the women who did come, during dinner, they just stood aside and gossiped. They did not mix with others and engage in professional talk. They do not know how to make teams”
(Senior Interviewee, 16)

Participants were of the view that women had the potential to bring about change if they so desired, although generally they did not have their own networks and forums. However, where network opportunities were available they were not interested to attend.

8.4 Lack of successful public profiles

Some of the participants also expressed their deep concern over the lack of successful public profiles of women in higher education management positions and, in part, associated it with their lack of representation in management positions. According to them women did not feel comfortable with self-projection. They did not want to appear in the media. They did not attempt to influence public opinion. This cast doubt on their leadership qualities.

The data revealed that majority of the participants (58.3%) were quite hesitant to promote themselves and their achievements. Thus people remained unaware of the potential that they had:

“Women who have made it to the top, some of them are working as a vice-chancellor [...]. Though they work extremely well in their offices and have made different innovations and uplifted the status of their universities, they never speak about their achievements. They do not like public speaking in the media. They remain behind the scenes. They are happy and feel comfortable working within their offices [...]. This can be accepted as their personal choice but because of this a good image of a good female leader is not promoted”. (Key Informant, 4)

The data revealed a reason for women’s reluctance in projecting their achievements. Most of the participants admitted that they personally did not want to be publically known, although they acknowledged that this behavior was not appropriate for a good leader. Women, who had achieved great success, felt that the projection of success might develop resentment among other people, who might see their rising status as threatening. One of the participants reported that:

“I never tried to be in the limelight. I thought it would be better to take a quieter position [...] If I am in the limelight, somebody will notice what I am aspiring to achieve [...] I am afraid that someone may become jealous. People will oppose me and create hurdles to my career path”. (Senior Interviewee, 12)

One of the participants also acknowledged that:

“Basically, I am a backbencher [...] I want to do work in the 2nd or 3rd position. I don’t want to be a public figure”. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

Another senior participant who did not give consent for her interview to be recorded but allowed me to keep notes said:

“I am machine shy. I never recorded an interview for TV [...]. Despite my achievements, I never spoke about them [...]. I always took challenging projects. I was never afraid of doing hard work. I am called an iron lady [...] I have retired formally but due to my innovative and hardworking nature I have been given a further contract in this university. But one thing I did not do in my whole life, I never appeared in the media [...]. Apart from university staff people don't know who I am”. (Senior, Interviewee, 13)

Although, it was reported that some of the participants did not like to appear in the media, this attitude could be culture specific as one of the participants said:

“I got my education from a co-ed university. I did my PhD at one of the UK Universities but I am not allowed by my family to be on the television”. (Senior Interviewee, 5)

The interview data indicated that women did not speak about their successful experiences. They did not speak of their abilities. Consequently, the most brilliant women leaders remained hidden. This lack of a media presence could also create the impression that there are fewer knowledgeable female experts and authorities.

8.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on internal barriers at the individual level related to women's personal and professional attributes which contributed to the dearth of women in management positions. Internal barriers, for example, a lack of confidence, self-reliance, assertiveness, and career direction were identified as impacting on women's lack of entry into leadership and management positions. To apply for top positions required courage but a lack of self-confidence meant that women frequently decided not to apply for such demanding jobs. They had a lack of confidence in their own abilities. They were less likely than men to put themselves forward to avail themselves of career opportunities.

The research revealed that participants were impeded in their careers by their low level ambitions and expectations. For some women the decision not to seek senior positions was linked to their own personal choice. They did not wish to be in a senior

management position and some limited their ambitions to junior management positions. Some participants expected to reach a higher position by shifting their career trajectory to an academic route.

The absence of professional attributes was also believed to limit women's opportunities for being promoted to senior management positions. The data revealed that some women exhibited a non-professional attitude in the workplace which presented a faulty perception of their competence as a leader. Ignorance about the selection and hiring practices of an institution was also seen as a barrier for women wishing to advance to the most senior positions. Ignorance of legal rights in organizations contributed to women's lack of assertive behavior. This was a potential constraint which had adversely affected upward career mobility in some cases.

Generally, most women did not belong to networks and were not interested in networking even when opportunities were made available for them to do so although these might have supported their career advancement. Furthermore, participants typically did not want to be in the limelight. Whatever the reasons for this, it impacted on their professional lives and career and did not raise the profile of women more generally.

The next section II sheds light on the supportive factors the interviewed women defined as facilitating their career success.

Section II

Factors favorable to women's career progression

CHAPTER 9 SOCIAL SUPPORT

9.1 Introduction

The current research addressed concerns about the under-representation of women in senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan. The first section of the findings presented the analysis of the data relevant to the second research question and developed an understanding of the socio-cultural context with specific emphasis on the major challenges that women faced *at familial, societal, organizational and personal level* to their advancement to senior management positions.

This section presents the analysis of the data relevant to the third research question. “*What factors support women at familial, societal, organizational and personal level in relation to their advancement to senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan?*” It investigates the key factors that enabled women to attain senior level management positions. The analysis of the data from participants’ narratives representing those who had succeeded in attaining senior positions provided the opportunity to gain a deep understanding of the factors facilitating career progression. Many of the interviewees indicated that despite the role played by Pakistani culture and organizations (see chapters 5, 6 and 7) a range of positive factors had a significant impact on their career progression.

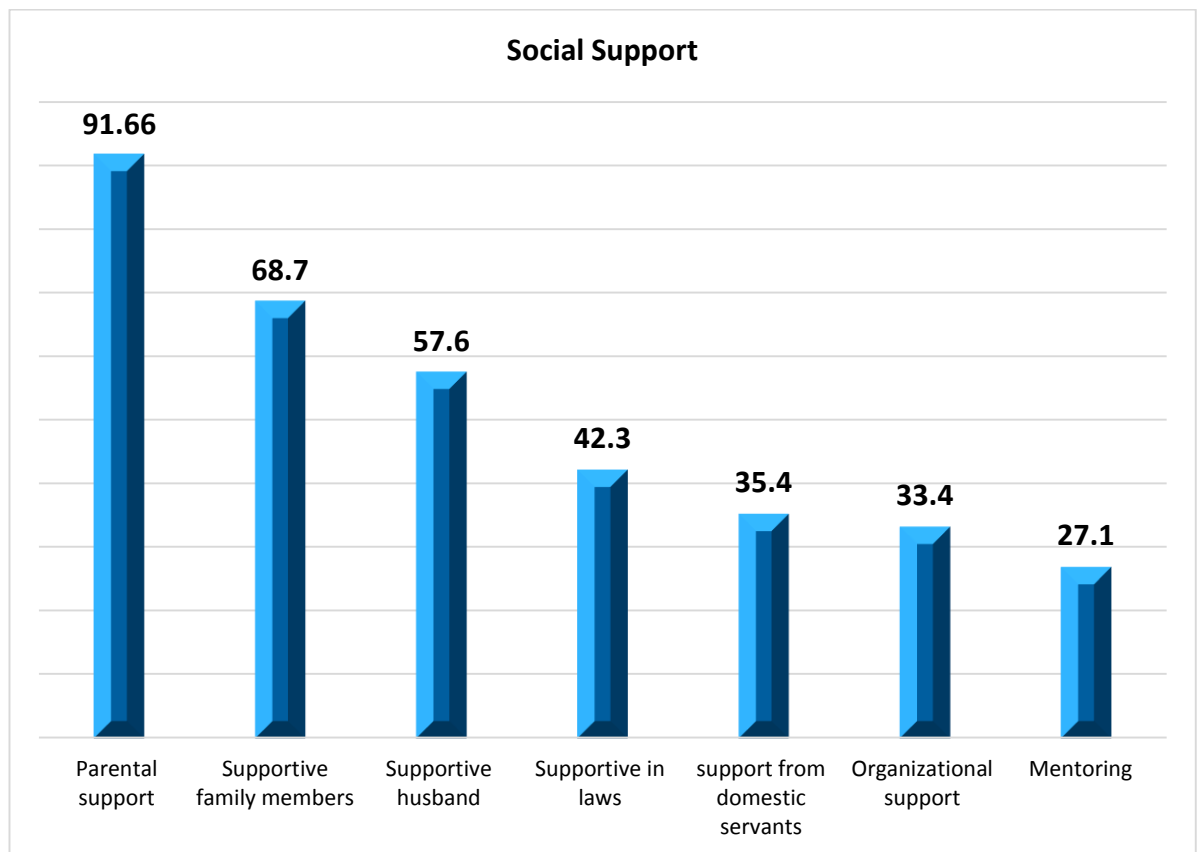
The following sections present an analysis of the participants’ experiences and serve to highlight and investigate the multiple and interconnected factors that provided a conducive environment to their career development. The key theme that emerged was the significance of social support in developing their aspirations and enabling them to achieve a senior position within higher education management. The most significant factors supporting their development included:

- parental support;
- supportive family members;
- supportive husband;
- supportive in-laws;

- support from domestic servants;
- organizational support;
- mentoring.

Analysis of the percentage of responses in each theme (see figure 9.1) revealed that the majority of the participants had considerable parental support. This was regarded as the single most important favorable factor that had contributed to them attaining their positions in senior management. Of the married participants more than half reported that they had support from their husbands and in-laws who had played a significant role in their career development. Support from sisters and brothers was also an important contributing factor. Some interviewees reported that support from domestic servants played a vital role. However, comparatively few participants reported organizational support and the influence of mentors at work on their career advancement. Figure 9.1 presents the percentage of responses related to participants’ perceived social support to their career progression (for the frequency of responses, see appendix 9 A).

Figure 9.1 Supportive factors influencing women’s career progression



9.2 Social support

Social support includes a broad range of elements within functional, structural, and conceptual fields (Marcinkus et al., 2007). In general social support is associated with the direct contribution of others to solving a problem or providing moral support to manage the emotional aspects of a problematic situation (Shaffer et al., 2005). It can also include caring, sympathetic listening and empathy (Ibid). The family is often a key support in developing leadership qualities in women (Cubillo and Brown, 2003).

In the current research social support was mostly associated with the family as being fundamental in enabling and developing participants' career in senior management positions. In shaping interviewees' career aspirations towards wishing to attain a senior management position, social support was crucial and had a range of diverse dimensions. It was of great significance in the patriarchal Pakistani society into which these women were born and brought up (chapter 6). The data suggested that diverse sources contributed to participants' career advancement and made it easier for them to pursue their careers.

9.3 Family support

The majority of the participants reported that a significant part of their career progression was due to a strong family support system. The participants suggested that social support was necessary not only for their professional development but their personal development as well.

The data suggested that the impact of parents' values and their involvement had a positive impact on participant's motivation, educational aspirations, and career ambitions. The home environment was reported as being friendly and helpful in providing education and career development opportunities. The family was a persistent source of backing throughout the careers of the interviewees. Family members influenced career development in a number of ways which are considered in the following sections:

9.3.1 Parental support

The research found that parents' support and encouragement had a particularly significant impact on participants' lives and education including their career success. It is widely acknowledged that to maximize children's abilities from education the full support of their parents is required. Parents play an important role in supporting their children's

achievements (Fan, 2001). The majority of the Pakistani parents of the interviewees (91.6%) were reported to have been actively involved in enhancing participants' educational progress by providing them with appropriate educational provision from the early years of schooling. Parents did not differentiate between daughter and son. Rather they were reported to be more involved in the education and career of their daughters in comparison to their sons. Despite limited resources in a few of the families, there was a greater effort to provide daughters with a good education and career. Parents continued to play their role in this regard. Moreover, it was reported that parents facilitated career choice and did not compel the participants to select a specific profession. As described in chapter 6, aspirations for a better future for their daughters were their utmost desire:

“We are three sisters and two brothers [...] It is said that Pakistani parents prefer sons over daughters. I never had such an issue in my life. [...] Our father always treated us equally [...]. However, our mother treated our brothers more favorably but we were not less important. We never felt inferior [...]. Father always seemed to be more worried about our education than that of our brothers. Due to an unexpected financial crisis our father took out a loan to carry all of the educational expenses but never compromised on our studies [...]. The care and equal treatment at home developed my confidence and enabled me in many ways to face the challenges of my personal and professional lives”. (Senior Interviewee, 9)

The data suggested that the impact of parents' care and their contribution had a positive impact on participant's educational targets and career ambitions. For example a participant reported that she and her sisters were highly supported and well treated by their parents:

“We are eight sisters, we have no brother. Our parents never felt we were a burden on them. We were given a good education, equal support and opportunities in terms of education. That really supported me and my other sisters. Two of my older sisters had a particular interest in the medical profession. Our parents supported their ambitions and desires [...]. They have successfully completed

their MBBS degrees. [...] I was interested in teaching and management. I also had their continued support, even now and with the help of their cooperation, I am continuing well towards my career goal”. (Junior Interviewee, 48)

The most important point emerging was the uniformity in the majority of the responses that their father was very caring of them. The research found that the equal care and kindness given to all children at home had given participants spirit and courage to aim for great objectives in their lives. The participants narrated that their fathers had firm beliefs in their potential. They encouraged them to opt for the management field. On the basis of their experiences, fathers shared their knowledge with the participants. They gave them useful career advice and suggested strategies for them in advancing in their careers:

“My father was a retired Army officer. He was very friendly and very close to all of us [...]. We all, sisters and brothers, were in the habit of listening to stories before going to bed at night. We used to gather around our father. Instead of fiction, he used to share his success stories with us. He prepared us for future challenges by telling us stories about his own failures and achievements throughout life [...]. My father always said to me ‘You are different from your brothers and sisters. You have potential. You should go into the army or any management field. I can see leadership qualities in you. [...] Indeed, I had no such perceptions about myself [...]. Due to his encouragement and belief in my qualities, I become more confident. I remember the teachings of my father and successfully manage my job”. (Senior Interviewee, 6)

Fathers were also reported as role models who helped participants and provided them with an ideal role model. One the participants enthusiastically identified and expressed her feelings in the following words:

“My father has always been a role model for me. He had served as a headmaster in a school. He was a very intelligent man and dedicated to his profession [...]. He successfully managed his career and was

much admired by all [...]. I love my father and his profession. I developed my career interest in his field of interest. [...] My father encouraged me a lot and provided me with guidance and support for my career”. (Junior Interviewee, 45)

The research found no difference between the behavior of parents living in rural and urban areas. Both sets of parents were found to be equally dedicated to the education and careers of their daughters. For example, a few of the participants working in senior management positions grew up in small towns and belonged to middle class families. Despite that, a great effort was made to provide their daughters with a good quality education and career prospects. One participant highlighted the opportunities provided by her family. She acknowledged that she was not underprivileged to be brought up in a small town:

“I was brought up in such a small town that the school hadn’t a subject teacher in my field of interest [...]. I was the only one who had opted for that. I used to sit in another class [...]. My parents did not force me to quit or to go for another subject. They fully supported me. To make up my subject deficiency, my father gave me lessons at home and did not get frustrated [...] I kept on going to that school until I passed my exam [...] for higher secondary school certificate. I got admission to a high school situated in a nearby small city [...] I graduated with my bachelor’s degree from a boarding college of a comparatively big city. I got my University qualification from a renowned university located in one of Pakistan’s largest cities. I obtained my PhD from a USA University [...] .A point to be noted is that I did my masters and PhD in the same subject of my initial interest which I had started without a teacher [...] You see how I have progressed with the help and support provided by my father. This support has also developed my confidence in my academic ability”. (Senior Interview, 19)

Further to the support from fathers, a similar picture emerged in relation to having special support from participants’ mothers. The research revealed that mother’s support had a crucial place in participants’ career success. The majority of the participants received

remarkable support from them. They provided narratives about their mothers who were very considerate in time of need. This support was acknowledged by many of the participants as further facilitating their progress:

“My mother is one of the important assets in my life. She has been very kind to me in every way [...] She was not educated enough to understand educational matters [...] but she was very supportive otherwise. She has done a lot to raise my self-confidence. She always wanted me to study hard and make sure I had a good education so that I could succeed in life. She always used to say, *I do the only thing I can do, I pray to Allah for your success, which I do in my every prayer.* [...] Nothing is like a mother’s prayer for her children”.
(Senior Interviewee, 22)

The majority of the participants said that they usually had to work late in the evening. They had no time off as did the teaching staff. They believed that women, who had no support system, were unable to give enough time to management tasks compared to those who had social support in managing work and family responsibilities. One of the participants said that her mother had contributed to reducing the potential constraints of work pressure on her career:

“My mother is a vital part of my career success. I get every kind of support for my career development from her. My daily work plan often clashes with my family demands. Time I spend at my job keeps me from sharing equally in home affairs. I appreciate the continuous support throughout my career provided by my mother. She lets me ignore my family responsibilities because when I get home from my job, I am often too exhausted to participate in family activities. She never leaves any task for me to do”. (Junior Interviewee, 39)

The data revealed that the financial support rendered by participants’ mothers was remarkable. This had a notable impact on their career. The impact of their mothers’ financial support largely worked through the way that they had provided them with the opportunities for sharing educational expenses:

“[...]. One thing I am going to tell you which I never shared with anyone as I believe that you are a researcher and my identity will be protected [...] Due to a dispute that occurred in our family business, we got into a financial crisis [...] We, all sisters and brothers were studying [...] A huge amount of educational expense was due to be paid monthly. Every month my father had to get a loan for the purpose. At a point a time it became hard [...] when I needed to pay my admission fee. You know what happened? [...] My mother sold her gold jewelry [...] to pay my required expenses [...]. Nothing could pay back all her kindness”. [While explaining about this her eyes were filled with tears and she could not speak further about it] (Senior, Interviewee, 25)

Parents’ attitudes towards the participants had a significant influence on their career progress. There was substantial evidence of the equal treatment given by parents to the participants at home. The majority of the participants believed that their father had spent equal time, money, and care on educating them as they did on their sons. The participants highlighted their mothers’ support as one of the fundamental features that successfully supported their career path. Both parents also provided them with a positive foundation of values, attitudes and positive self-concept.

9.3.2 Supportive family members

Social support from the extended family was reported as a normal feature of Pakistani society. The research found that the majority of the participants (68.7%) acknowledged other family members as important pillars in their social support system. For example the participants reported that they had major cooperation from their brothers, and sisters in their career development. In particular they shared with them different tasks and family responsibilities. For example the cooperation rendered by their sisters to accommodate their domestic needs decreased the burden of managing the home and holding a high level management position:

“When I get home from my office my elder sisters never ask me to share household chores with them. They happily do things for me”. (Junior Interviewee, 33)

Some of the participants appreciated the considerable sacrifices their sisters had made in relation to their education and career success:

“Our elder sister sacrificed her education for the sake of her younger siblings. She sacrificed her career ambitions to enable us to progress [...]. She was brilliant in her studies, disciplined and more hardworking than us. I am sure that if she had pursued her career she would have achieved more than us [...]. Being the eldest sibling, she sacrificed her education and career. The reason for that was that our mother was not in good health. Therefore our sister took all the domestic responsibilities. She cooked good food for all of us. She got us ready for school. She facilitated our education and career as much as she could”. (Senior Interviewee, 17)

The participants acknowledged the care given by their brothers. They explained how they had supported them in solving transport issues and difficulties in their daily educational work:

“I love and respect my elder brother who gave me his full support whenever I needed it. He helped me in my studies [...]. In the early stages of my schooling, due to transport problems, he was very kind in picking me up on his bike. He was never late [...]. He helped me with my homework. Really, he is very caring. Even now he always takes care of every matter where I need his help. I always appreciate his support and that he sacrificed his time”. (Senior Interviewee, 22)

One participant argued that the help of brothers and sisters depended on the example that had been set by parents:

“Family support comes when you as a mother make them realize its importance and train them accordingly”. (Senior Interviewee, 3)

Many participants enthusiastically talked about the kind of excellent social support their brothers and sisters had given them and the significant impact of support systems on their

careers. The role of brothers and sisters was emphasized as crucial in helping them to succeed.

9.3.3 Supportive husband

The most striking feature to emerge as supporting success in participants' careers was the support given by their husbands. As described in chapter 5, in Pakistani culture women, even when they have occupational roles, cannot give up their primary roles as home makers. While husbands did not give significant support in relation to household chores, they did facilitate their wives in developing their career aspirations by having a positive attitude towards their profession. The data indicated that husbands provided emotional support including motivating them, listening, and encouraging participants in selecting and achieving in their careers. Of the 65 percent married participants, majority of them (57.6%) reported that they had received emotional support from their husbands. For example, in response to a question about their spouse's role in their career development one of the participants said:

“There is a kind of mutual understanding and care between me and my husband [...] We accept each other's roles, we are very considerate of each other [...] For example, I take care of him, he manages official matters and related correspondence for me [...] I work with the same support he had in the home. That's how things worked. [...] He does shopping, I have to do the list [...] I wouldn't say he's non-cooperative [...]. We've got everything we want the other person to do”. (Senior Interviewee, 11)

In response to the question that, “in the time of difficulties at work, did you find that your husband was helpful”, the majority of the participants acknowledged the moral support that was provided by their husbands. One of the participants indicated:

“I always share organizational issues with him. He is always there giving his sincere and honest suggestions. That has always proved very useful in overcoming difficult situations. I must acknowledge that my husband has more contacts, more information about people and different solutions. Based on his professional experience, he has

a particular way of getting things done that I don't have". (Junior Interviewee, 41)

A similar picture emerged in relation to having moral support provided by their husbands at critical points in their lives. One of the senior participants said:

"[...]. Though my husband does not share my kitchen responsibilities, he is very caring [...]. He cares about my personal worries [...] I lost my beloved father few years ago [...] and I become emotionally disturbed. It was very difficult to cope with the situation [...] I took 3 months leave from my job. [...]. It was my husband who helped me to get back to my normal life [...]. I have full moral support from him. He always helps me in resolving issues in my life". (Senior Interviewee, 21)

In other instances, spousal support was offered in enabling participants' career requirements to be met helping them to follow a successful career path. One of the participants said: "*I really appreciate all his patience and moral support, which has helped me to achieve in my career*". Further she narrated:

"Basically, we belong to a village. I moved to a big city for the sake of my education. During my studies I got married. After the completion of my higher studies I got a job in the same institution [...]. My husband still lives in the village, at our original place of residence [...]. He runs his own business and does his job in parallel [...] He has no objection to my appointment. Rather he has been facilitating me throughout [...]. He used to come from the village at the weekends. We both do the shopping and complete some of the necessary home tasks at the weekends. He never complains about anything, however, he has had to sacrifice a lot". (Senior Interviewee, 17)

Some of the successful women reported that their husbands played a role in looking after their children. They believed that they were equally responsible for taking care of all

family members. Sometimes this support included elders and family members who were ill. One of the participants said that her husband was willing to take leave to look after a sick child. Otherwise she would have had to shoulder that responsibility in addition to her work:

“I and my husband were both working [now he is retired]. When our children or any other family member became ill, we both took care of them. Sometimes I and sometimes he would take leave from our jobs to take them to the doctor or stay at home to look after them”.

(Senior Interviewee, 1)

The data revealed considerable evidence which established that participants entered into management roles and progressed in their career because of their husbands’ continued cooperation. One of the participants explained that:

“I found that my husband was equally struggling to pursue a higher degree as me [...]. When he applied for a scholarship for his PhD abroad, he did the same for me. He put all his effort into preparing and submitting all the required papers for it [...]. Amazingly, I got my scholarship for the UK one year earlier than him [...] He travelled with me to the UK and tried his level best to provide me with a comfortable residence. Then he went back to Pakistan [...]. The following year he got his scholarship for the UK [...]. We could have lived together but our universities were located in different cities [...] however, he never complained. He used to come to me at the weekends and supported me in each and every way to make my living easy [...] this was marvelous. I must say that we feel more like friends than husband and wife [...] now in my professional life, I sometimes bring files from the office to home to complete tasks. He never becomes annoyed. He is such a wonderful person in my life”.

(Senior Interviewee, 2)

One of the participants said that her husband offered significant economic support in managing issues in relation to her career. He provided her with funding to undertake higher education to achieve a higher degree and optimize her career goals:

“Once the university administration became fussy about my scholarship [...] although it had already been granted related matters were not taken care properly [...]. When my husband anticipated that in the near future this was not going to be resolved, he advised me to abandon the idea of getting funding from the university and promised to arrange the funding from his own resources. Literally, there was a huge amount of money involved. But he kept his promise for the sake of my higher education studies and has been with me every step of the way in my career journey. If such financial and moral support had not been given it would have been more challenging and almost impossible for me to pursue my career ambitions”. (Senior Interviewee, 1)

Another participant reported that her husband had not only provided financial support but also emotional support to minimize her worries while she was studying abroad. He was very sensitive to her study requirements, adapting his career according to the needs of her circumstances abroad. He willingly fit in with her education situation. He invested in her higher education to such an extent that it made her career vision a reality. Otherwise limited resources and unfavorable circumstances would have been restraining factors to her career path:

“My husband did everything for my higher education [...]. First, when I expressed my desire to do my PhD abroad [...] he wholeheartedly consented to my ambition [...]. On the completion of all the processes, I travelled aboard [...]. My very young son went with me [...]. I had had no previous experience of managing alone. Therefore, I faced a very difficult time, juggling to survive in poor weather conditions, managing to cope with little money, taking care of my young child, this all alongside difficult studies [...] I was about to die!! [...] my husband knew everything as I used to call him daily

and share every situation with him [...]. He became worried about us and decided to join us [...] he tried his level best to get a foreign visa [...]. He ultimately succeeded [...]. He let me turn all my worries and problems over to him. [...]. He looked after me and my son. He got a job. He worked 16 hours a day despite the hard weather and his personal mobility problems [...]. I always felt sorry for that [...] However, I got financial and moral support at the same time. After a long struggle, we settled down. [...] Now I am working in a senior position but all credit goes to my husband [...] I can never pay back what he did for me”. (Senior Interviewee, 19)

However, one of the participants (originally foreign- based) attributed her husband’s support to her own determined efforts to pursue a career and her expectation that he would assist and support her along the way:

“I got my husband’s support because he had no choice as in the early years of our marriage I made it clear to my in-laws and my husband that at any cost I would pursue my career. Initially my in-laws were not happy with this. However, my husband had to compromise”. (Senior Interviewee, 18)

One of the participants’ acknowledged the support of both her father and husband:

“It is said that behind every successful man there is a women. I must say, that, behind every successful woman there is a man [...]. Initially, my father played an important role in helping me get my higher qualification. [...] and after marriage my husband proved to be a very supportive and considerate companion”. (Senior Interviewee, 10)

The participants reported and acknowledged that they had excellent support from their husbands at different stages of their careers. They believed that their husband’s support played a crucial role in their career development and described it as enabling the pursuit of their ambitions.

9.3.4 Supportive in-laws

The participants not only received support from their parents, sisters, brothers, and husbands, they also received noteworthy support from their in-laws. This helped them to manage the dual demands of work and home. It was frequently reported that grandmothers looked after young children while the participants were at work. The help of their mothers-in-law had facilitated them in continuing with their career:

“I must appreciate the kind of support provided by my in-laws, particularly when my children were very young. I always left them with their *Dadu*³¹. She happily took care of them, carefully fed them, washed them and took care of every need [...]. The management work and related long hours assignments would have been impossible to handle if she had not been behind me”. (Senior Interviewee, 24)

The data showed that participants, particularly those in the early stages of their management careers, had support from in-laws not only in terms of childcare but other family responsibilities as well. The presence of such help made it possible to continue with their careers:

“It’s about my mother-in-law. You know, when I get home, if I am OK I help her to prepare the food. But if I am tired, she says don’t do anything. This means a lot to me [...] her being so kind. I think it’s in her nature. Every mother-in-law doesn’t have the same considerate nature. So it can’t be expected to be the same for others [...] and for those women it’s more difficult to manage, especially those who are both mothers and working women and living alone”. (Junior Interviewee, 44)

The research explored how women in junior management positions perceived their career advancement opportunities and what they considered families did to support their

³¹ Grandmother (participant ‘s mother in law)

advancement. Overall, the findings suggested that they were as satisfied as senior participants with the support that they received from their family:

“[...] It was very difficult for me to look after my younger children alongside my professional responsibilities [...] but my in-laws stood by me and helped me a lot, particularly, my mother-in-law, who took on my child care responsibilities, although this made me feel guilty about leaving my children when I went to the office [...] But this cooperation and help enabled me to continue with my current job”.
(Junior, Interviewee, 40)

Others participants said that social support had really helped with childcare demands as it was flexible when children were ill. The high level demands in these cases might have imposed a restriction on the women's career development:

“Once when my daughter suffered from typhoid, my father in-law came all the way from Lahore to Islamabad just to give her the prescribed medication on time. This was not possible for us as we both were working”. (Senior Interviewee, 1)

The research found that social support from in-laws had a significant impact on participants' willingness to keep their children at home rather in day care centres. While interviewees acknowledged that day care centres were the major institutions that replaced parents in caring for children, they were reluctant to send their children to day care centres if family support was available:

“[...]. My parents-in-law were so supportive, therefore, I preferred to keep my children at home rather than sending them to a day-care centre [...]. Although day-cares are equally important, I preferred home because from my point of view the presence of an elderly figure at home is a blessing. Children have the best chance to get good training and learn moral lessons [...] I personally feel that until three or four years of age, children should enjoy their childhood. In the day-care centres these types of facilities are missing [...]”.

However, this supportive atmosphere is available only in a joint family system [...]. Luckily, we and our children were privileged enough to have the children cared for by my parents-in-law". (Senior Interviewee, 1)

The data found that participants' careers had not been affected by interruptions due to child bearing and rearing responsibilities. The following quote succinctly conveyed the experience of one typical participant:

"My mother in law was very supportive. On the birth of our (only) baby she did not allow me to take home responsibilities. She lived with us for two years. She took on almost all childcare duties. If she had not been willing to come to us, I would have had to take a long leave from my job because I and my husband were very sensitive about the matter of child care in our son's early years". (Senior Interviewee, 10)

A few of the participants had faced continuing resentment from their husbands towards their jobs and if they had not had enough support from their in-laws to continue with their job they would have had to give up working early on:

"Due to continuous resentment from my husband about my job I would not have progressed to my position if my father-in-law was not in favor of my job". (Junior Interviewee, 40)

The positive influence of husbands' family members in supporting participants' careers was frequently mentioned by the participants. The influence of social support provided by in-laws was an important factor in relation to their career progress. Domestic responsibilities would have created problems for them without this support.

9.4 Support from domestic servants

In Pakistan domestic servants are commonly paid to undertake cleaning, housekeeping, cooking, laundry, and ironing. The support from these individuals was raised as a significant facilitator of the participants' management careers. For instance 35.4% of the

participants reported that the presence of a domestic servant was another important source of support. One of the participants firmly believed that her career development was only possible because of her being able to hand over her familial responsibilities to her maid:

“[...]. To take advantage of a career opportunity, me and my husband had to move to another city. We missed support from the joint family members who had been taking good care of our children [...] They were distressed about how we would manage child care and made a number of good suggestions, including hiring a maid servant to take care of matters in our absence [...]. We did this, but initially we could not find anyone who was trustworthy. For some time we kept on trying [...] then, I and my husband mutually decided to hire an elderly lady who had a lot of experience of child caring. Luckily, we were able to find a suitable aged lady [...]. We provided her with all the childcare facilities at home. Our children were able to stay there comfortably. She proved herself to be very faithful and helped us to look after our young children”. (Senior Interviewee, 28)

The data established the multiple dimensions and sub-dimensions of the social support systems which enabled women to pursue a career in higher education management. The support and help from domestic servants was highly appreciated by the study participants.

9.5 Organizational support

The importance of organizational support and encouragement was highlighted as an important factor in achieving career success by some (34.4%) of the participants. They described the ways in which they had been financed, encouraged and mentored by their organizations throughout their careers. There were contextual factors that had supported the career needs of those aspiring for senior positions.

The research found that the participants' head of institutions and senior teachers were a significant source of encouragement at the beginning of their careers. They motivated them to aspire to the top positions. The following extract concisely conveyed the feelings of such participants:

“I received sincere advice and organizational support particularly from my male boss to get my PhD degree in my field [...]. This gave a new direction to my career. Otherwise, I thought Master’s level education was the highest I could get as I was living in a small town and getting a Master’s degree from a well reputed university situated in a big city was believed to be a great achievement [...]. The suggestion of getting a PhD was very interesting but new for me. I had no idea what kind of issues were involved, for example, how to apply for funding, how to get a place [...] To be honest, I have not much confidence in myself [...] My English was not very good at that time. I thought it was not easy to obtain a higher degree in a foreign country [...]. My teachers at university encouraged me to be confident in my potential and aptitude. They made me believe that I had the self-confidence to be able to do that. They guided me in each and every step. So it was easy in terms of my career progression [...] Because of institutional financial support and cooperation I developed my initial plan to get my higher degree. This has now provided a very strong base for my senior position in the same university”. (Senior Interviewee, 19)

The research also explored how women were given career advancement opportunities and what they considered their organizations had done to support their advancement:

“All through my educational and career journey I have been very lucky as organizational support was behind me. From my Master’s degree followed by my PhD and postdoctoral work in a foreign country, I was appropriately guided. I was financially supported. Otherwise, I had a very average family background. The members of my family were not well educated. They did not have awareness and experience of the academic world [...]. Without organizational support and my teacher’s mentoring everything that I have achieved so far would not have been possible”. (Senior Interviewee, 17)

The research found that most of the vice-chancellors of the sample universities aimed to provide equal opportunities to all in terms of their careers. Most were against gender discrimination. According to one of the key informants who himself was vice-chancellor of a sample university:

“We select the best person for the job, regardless of their gender
[...].We provide career development opportunities equally to all”
[...]. (Key Informant, 2)

9.5.1 Mentoring

A mentor is a highly experienced and influential person within an organization (Dougherty, and Dreher, 2007), who has already achieved a high position and gained the experience which is needed to promote the career of the less experienced (Ibid). As well as moral and financial support, the motivational support in the form of mentors has been considered to be an important influence in terms of women’s career progression (Hoigaard and Mathisen, 2009). The interviews revealed that a few highly accomplished women in senior management positions acted as exceptional mentors as well as role models. However, they were not representative of other women working in top positions. The reflection of majority of the interviewees’ experiences about other successful women was often negative and not all successful women were considered as suitable mentors. Few positive female role models were reported.

The research found that 27.1percent of the participants had worked under the guidance of some highly successful women leader in the universities who had demonstrated competent leadership and management. Interviewees were inspired by them. This proved particularly valuable in their career choices:

“At the initial stage of my career, I worked as a research officer with a dynamic woman. She has always been and continues to be a great driving force in my career. I was very much impressed with her leadership style. She was an ideal model of a successful leader. She was a wonderful person. I learnt many lessons from her. I valued and benefited from her leadership qualities. I have tried to incorporate them into my practice as a head of a university

department. Now she is holding a position as an emeritus in a university but still whenever I need any advice I call her up and seek her suggestions [...]. I appreciate her time and thoughtfulness. She is still there to help me, guide me and motivate me and to disseminate knowledge to the best of her capacity [...] she is a remarkable lady”. (Senior Interviewee, 6)

The data showed that a few of the participants had found successful women who acted as role models for the current phase of their careers. They highly praised their efforts and career advice. The mentors had supported them throughout their career and were viewed as extremely helpful. They had provided participants with opportunities and created avenues for them to demonstrate their skills and abilities:

[...] I never forget to mention the name of two of the senior women [she named] who inspired me in every step of my career. They had a great influence on my career ambitions. One was in an executive position with whom I worked for many years. She has just retired from her job. For each and every step of my career life I had guidance and advice from her”. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

The data revealed that continued guidance and support from significant people such as vice-chancellors and senior teachers had provided participants with opportunities and boosted their confidence. The high expectations for their abilities and potential enabled them to make their way to the top.

9. 6 Chapter Summary

The findings related to the third research question revealed that the participants’ movement upwards in the professional hierarchy was in part attributed to their social support systems. The social support derived from a range of sources including spouses, parents and other family members was viewed as having contributed to their career. They also acknowledged financial support from their universities and career guidance from heads of institution and senior teachers. They regarded all support as playing an extremely important role in the development of their careers. Parental support in the home was viewed as enduring, and crucial. The participants came from homes that believed in

equity for all siblings regardless of gender. Both parents valued education, providing participants with the supportive environment necessary for their education and career development. This promoted participants' self-confidence and made them believe in their potential and abilities.

As described in chapter five Pakistani women have to manage their work responsibilities alongside their home responsibilities. The findings showed that family support partially removed their conventional home duties. In this way home responsibilities did not interfere with work responsibilities. Prior to marriage the father played a key role and following it the husband. The majority of participants were positive about the way that their husbands supported them. They appreciated the moral, financial and emotional support that their husbands had given them. In some cases smooth functioning at home and work was facilitated by a domestic servant who provided child care and undertook domestic tasks. Without their assistance participants would not have been able to focus on their work.

The participants reported that their success depended on significant familial support alongside organizational support. Although, the majority of the participants had experienced gender discrimination in the universities and other participants criticized equitable access to career opportunities at different stages of their career (see organizational constraints in chapter 7), a few women had been supported by their institution. While some had been supported by senior women mentors and had benefited from working with influential female role models, these were in the minority. There were very few women in senior management positions and even fewer who were willing to act as mentors for other women in the same field. The participants spoke of the inspirational and motivational influence of those who acted as mentors and role models, acknowledged that their mentors had provided them with extensive help, and indicated that without them their career progress might have been hindered or made considerably more difficult. Organizational support appeared to impact positively upon participants, who were encouraged to apply for higher degrees. Such support was helpful in relation to them attaining senior management positions.

The next chapter focuses on the personal qualities and attributes the interviewed women described as contributing to their career success.

CHAPTER 10

Contribution of participants' personal qualities and attributes to their career success

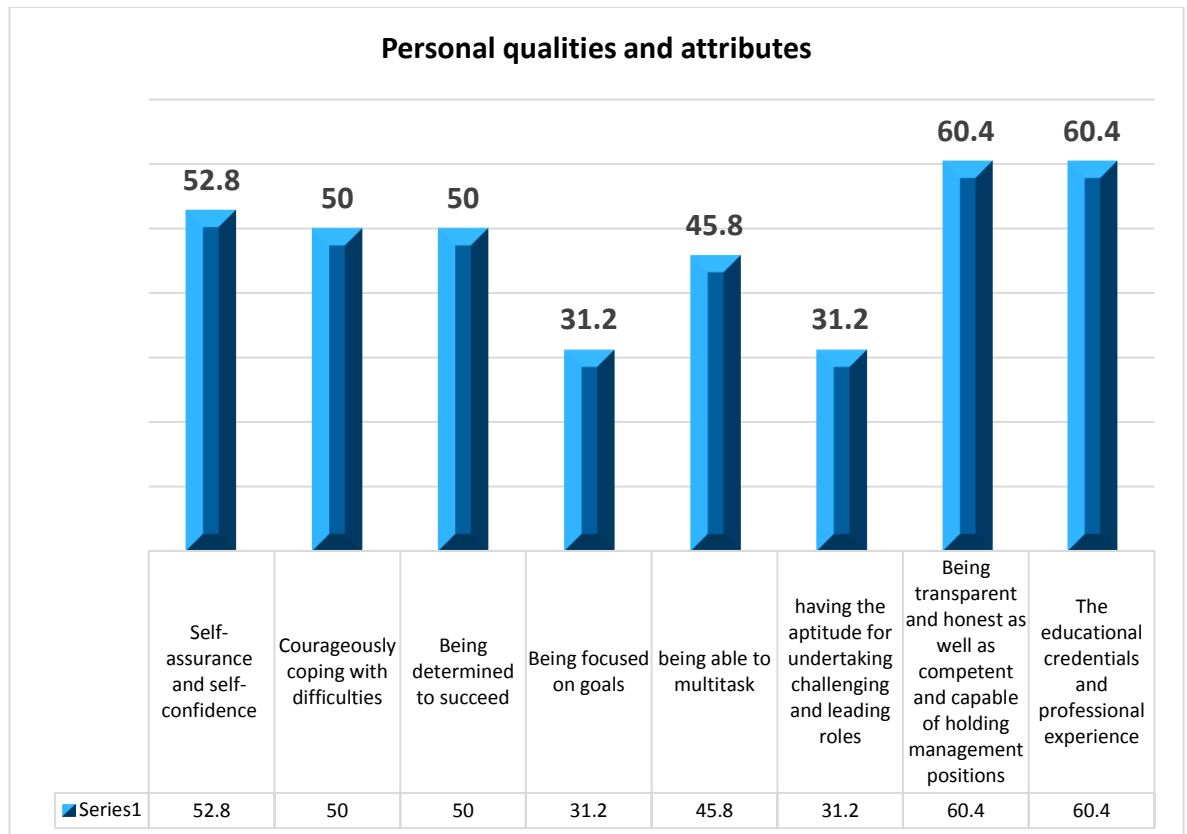
10. 1 Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of the data relevant to the third research question “*What factors support women at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels to their advancement to senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan*,” The chapter considers the supportive factors associated with the perceived personal qualities and attributes of the research participants that they indicated had a significant impact on their career progression. Perceived personal qualities and attributes based on participants’ beliefs in their capabilities to manage their personal and professional responsibilities and overcome the challenges that they faced in their careers (see chapter 5, 6, 7) are set out. The personal qualities and attributes which were repeatedly referred to by most of the interviewees for their career progression included:

- self-assurance and self-confidence;
- courageously coping with difficulties;
- being determined to succeed;
- being focused on goals;
- being able to multitask;
- having the aptitude for undertaking challenging and leading roles;
- being transparent and honest as well as competent and capable of holding management positions; and
- their educational credentials and professional experience

Figure 10.1 presents the percentage of participants’ responses in relation to each of the categories identified which were considered to have been the most significant contributors to achieving and maintaining senior management positions (for the frequency of responses, see appendix 10 A).

Figure 10.1 Perceived personal qualities and attributes of the participants supporting women's career progression



10. 2 Personal qualities and attributes

Personal qualities and attributes are defined as the characteristic behaviors, temperament and emotion of the individual (Bowling and Hoffman, 2003). Skills, on the other hand, are learned capacities to carry out specific tasks. These are also known as competences (Boni, and Walker 2013). Most of the participants indicated in a variety of ways what they believed to be the behaviours and attitudes which had been important in achieving and sustaining senior level management positions.

10.2.1 Self-assurance and self-confidence

Self-assurance and self-confidence is having a firm belief in your abilities including skills, values, interests, behaviors and character (Andrew, 2102). The majority of the participants (52.8%) reported having confidence in themselves to undertake management positions, particularly, in the presence of the diverse constraints that they had faced. With high self-confidence they appeared to work with passion and interest and believed in their abilities to get things done effectively. For example, the beliefs in their personal abilities supported participants to overcome difficult circumstances during their education and

professional development. One of the participants shared the difficult experiences that she had had when she was abroad for her higher education studies and how she was able to overcome her problems:

“[...] When I was abroad for my higher education studies, my supervisor said to me that *you don't have enough money, you don't know English, you don't know how to use a computer, you have language problems, you cannot arrange a baby sitter for your son, and your husband is unable to get a visa to join you. Therefore, you had better leave and go back to your country.* I said “No way, this can only be over my dead body [...]. I explained to my supervisor that the only problem I had was “*I am completely alien to this environment. But I strongly believe in myself. I am confident I can do it all. Just give me some time to make it*”. So I worked hard and finally proved myself. I met all requirements successfully [...] at the end, I even taught a few courses at the university”. (Senior Interviewee, 19)

The participants had great confidence in their capabilities and approached management tasks as a challenge rather than as a pressure to discourage them. A senior participant from a mixed university indicated that her courage and confidence had played a major role in her career progression. She attained a position in competition with male candidates who were already working in that university. At the beginning of her job as an executive, she faced resistance for several months. It was assumed that being a female, she would not fit into the specific environment of the university. She was not considered suitable to work in a purely male dominated atmosphere leading all staff including male colleagues. She reported that she approached challenging situations with the assurance that she could manage them. Despite much resistance she thrived. She attributed this to her self-confidence and determination to succeed:

“When I started working in this position, I faced opposition for a long time. However, I was quite confident that I could handle things [...]. Once a group of male students came to my office and said “*We respect you a lot as a woman but we advise you not to continue with this position*”

as this is a purely male environment and you are likely to experience difficulties.” [...] I listened to them very patiently. I was not afraid but replied with a smile. “I know I have started working in a different environment but I believe I am surrounded by people like you. You are sensible and I believe I will not face any difficulties while working with you” [...]. They were not expecting me to make this kind of response. They were confused. They could not say anything else [...] I succeeded in using their psyche and was able to challenge them and change the discussion completely [...]. I fought against the myths and proved that women can lead and manage while working in a mixed environment [...]. Now the situation is that not a single decision is made without me being consulted at all levels. The Vice-chancellor is always appreciative of my innovative ideas”. (Senior Interviewee, 6)

She added:

“[...] everyone holds the opinion of me that I can handle everyone. I also believe I can do that”.

The other participants also suggested that their personal self-assurance and self-confidence was one of their greatest strengths. They always believed in their abilities. They believed that they had no problems with speaking publically. They were confident to argue and give valid opinions on matters in official meetings. These skills enhanced their suitability for senior positions. Reflecting on her abilities one of the participants said:

“The only thing that gives me strength is that I believe in my abilities. I never doubt myself. I work hard and keep going [...]. I am never afraid dealing with different people. I never hesitate to give my point of view. I never hesitate to express myself when I disagree with others. Every time when I’m sitting in meetings, I give my thoughtful opinions without fear that they will not be taken into account. People give me positive feedback about my suggestions and recommendations”.

(Senior Interviewee, 7)

Other participants also indicated that in coping in a male dominated organizational environment having self-confidence was essential, particularly while competing with male colleagues who had been working for a long time in those universities and were more familiar with the systems. One of the participants shared that it was hard when she started in her present role. She was not accepted initially but she had been confident that she would be able to succeed:

“I think self-confidence is very important for women to successfully manage in a male dominated organizational environment. If you have got confidence and ability, I think you can do anything you want to do. The question of men or women doesn't come into it.” (Senior Interviewee, 20)

Male dominated universities provided particular challenges for the women. The participants reported tackling arising issues drawing on their self-beliefs and that these assisted them in surviving within male dominated environments. One of the participants said:

“The post I am holding had a history of a woman never having been appointed. Although, I was aware that any woman who was appointed would receive high levels of opposition and would not be appreciated by her male colleagues I was not concerned and proceeded with confidence. Being the boss I have the ability to render equal treatment to everyone. I have the ability to establish normal personal relationships with colleagues and subordinates. (Senior Interviewee, 24)

The data suggested that awareness of universities' systems enhanced confidence. The participants believed that their organizational skills and knowledge of university rules and regulations enriched their confidence to compete for and retain senior positions. In the face of challenging situations they knew how to protect their careers. One of the participants explained how awareness of university policies made a valuable contribution towards her career advancement:

“I was aware of the university’s rules and regulations. My colleagues tried to manipulate the rules when it was time for my promotion. But I was confident about securing my career. Despite all of their efforts to obstruct my career promotion they could do nothing [...]. I knew all the terms and conditions for promotion to the next highest grade. My qualifications and experience met the standard promotion criteria. Therefore, I was quite confident that I was applying for my due rights. This gave me courage and confidence to overcome all hurdles”. (Senior Interviewee, 19)

The data revealed that a key contributor to participants’ career progression was their self-confidence. They explained that their self-assurance came from recognizing their expertise and capacities. They demonstrated self-confidence in their work by being dominant and staying firm when the organizational environment became challenging. The data provided evidence that if women are confident about their personal abilities they will be able to reach the top positions.

10.2.2 Courageously coping with difficulties

In this research coping with difficulties related to problem solving, decision making, and personal stress and problem management. The data indicated that 50 percent of the participants who reported courageously coping with difficulties both in their professional and personal lives also reported being successful in their careers. They were able to cope and even thrive when there were difficulties. They suggested that if they had let those difficulties stand in their way they might not have attained their career goals. One of the participants shared how at each stage of her life she had found herself in a challenging position. However, she was resilient and had firm beliefs that she had what it took to succeed:

“I am a little exceptional. I have had hurdles all along. I had a difficult time from getting my scholarship until my headship. Last year my headship was a problem but I struggled a lot and managed to hold on to it [...]. One thing I have done for the whole of my life, I never give up. I face all situations courageously. I learn from every experience and maintain my own positive attitude in order to move ahead”. (Senior Interviewee, 16)

A similar finding emerged from the narrative of another participant. She perceived her role as going beyond customary practices and recognized her strong personality as a major contributor to her career success. She believed that she did not allow difficulties to overcome her. If she ever had any problems then she created her own solutions. She was known as the iron lady:

“The system was very difficult. But I have worked very hard. I never did complain. I always did work with dedication. I never lost my heart. I overcame all the difficulties and found my own way to get things done. The social structure wants to see women submissive. I was not that kind of lady. I did not experience this kind of attitude. Because of my strong personality, I did not accept any social pressure and went on with my career trajectory. I proved myself and acted like a professional not like a woman”. (Senior Interviewee, 13)

The data revealed other similar examples. One participant reported that she overcame difficulties with strength and courage and found that this ability aided her career progression:

“I feel I have a different kind of personality. I have different genes. Many ups and downs came about in my career life. My personal life was not very pleasant but I still worked with the same high energy. This has been the main reason for my career success”. (Senior Interviewee, 16)

One of the participants explained that she was able to cope with her personal, professional and health problems with spirit and courage. She believed that she coped with them very well and did not allow them to limit her career progression. This, in turn, had a major impact on her career advancement:

“In spite of my struggles, as I feel I have spent all my life running in relation to work and home, I feel happy while working on different things. I have enjoyed each and every moment of my life [...]. I am diabetic, but I never felt bad about that, I never see it as a problem, I

manage it very well [...] I make my way by myself, by my own efforts.
I avail myself of every opportunity which will support my career”.
(Junior Interviewee, 30³²)

In summary, the empirical evidence showed that there was a significant contribution of participants' personal attributes in coping with difficulties. They sustained their efforts in the face of different personal and organizational constraints. They advanced because their courage and determination supported them in taking advantage of available opportunities and tackling difficulties when they arose.

10.2.3 Being determined to succeed

Determination to succeed in having a better career also emerged as a major contributor to success. Based on their self-confidence in their ability to succeed the participants were determined to achieve their career goals. Despite difficulties they never considered giving up.

Fifty percent of the participants reported that they were highly dedicated to their career. They suggested that the education and level of competence required for senior management positions was not acquired without career commitment. Therefore despite early difficulties in accessing the necessary education because of their level of dedication they worked hard to get ahead.

While documenting such experiences, one of the participants indicated that despite facing hardship in her life she was determined to succeed and managed to get the necessary education to attain a senior management position:

“My father died in the early days of my life. I had a very difficult time. I had a passion for education and having a good career but I had no financial support. I took on tuition to pay my fees. I wanted to achieve something in my life. I had a struggle, I took on a private job just to earn enough money. During that time I improved my qualifications as a result of which I got the current opportunity [...]. There are a lot of challenges in working in a mixed environment. However, I believe that

³²Recently promoted to a senior position

I have the capability of working with men. Working hard is also the best policy for succeeding. This is never wasted. If you do this people find no way to challenge you.” (Senior Interviewee, 8)

The data showed that the professional aspirations of the participants explained how they proceeded up the management hierarchy. They were central to their goals. Feeling passionate about achieving something in their lives made participants keep going. They kept on struggling and finally were able to make it happen. One of the participants narrated:

“The determination to succeed in a management position was the key to success for me [...]. Slowly and gradually I worked my way up to this senior position. I faced many hurdles. Different people created different barriers at different times in my path to career success, my in-laws, colleagues, and at different times my own personal circumstances. But I never gave up. I was determined to prosper in my career. So, I kept on struggling against all difficulties. Thanks to Allah, finally, I was able to make it so far.” (Senior Interviewee, 21)

The data suggested that in the circumstances in which the participants found themselves getting the necessary education to progress to top management positions was not stress-free. However, with passion, hard work, the aspiration to succeed and the willingness and readiness to tackle the problems encountered, they were able to overcome all difficulties.

10.2.4 Being focused on goals

The data showed that participants who despite many constraints were able to achieve success in their career were very goal focused. This refers to the ability to have clarity about the objectives being strived for in their personal and professional lives (Andrew, 2102). In the present research some participants (31.25%) suggested that having clear goals served to focus them on their course of action which helped in their smooth and speedy career progress. They had relatively clear career plans compared to the other 68.75% women in the study who had a lack of motivation and ambition to gain a management position (see chapter 8). They spoke in various ways about their goal to be in a management position. They criticized those who wanted to progress but had no career plans. For example, one of the participants who was focused on her career said:

“Recently I have got this senior position and I hope after few years I will be in the next highest grade. This is what I want and I am going all out to get it. I have progressed at a normal pace and hope for the same in the future [...]. I think perhaps a lot of women don't plan their career. I know there are women who have got good positions by chance. There are some who are still waiting for their promotion. They would have progressed faster if they were more focused about going for what they wanted.” (Senior Interviewee, 24)

Other narratives also suggested that having a clear career path and sufficient career planning were key in explaining career progression. One participant articulated that she wanted to excel in her life. She planned her education and career accordingly. Due to having clear career targets she did not allow external factors to stand in her way. Therefore she succeeded in reaching her career objectives. She also suggested that it was impossible to be successful if people gave up:

“I had planned my education and career with the help of my parent’s guidance. I selected subjects according to my areas of interest [...]. Once when my father was transferred to another city, I realized that I could not continue with my subject areas. I stayed with my mother and continued with my studies [...]. I remember one of my friends, due to her father’s posting had discontinued with her studies. She could not find a programme as the date had passed. Consequently, she lost interest. During this period she got married and shut the career door forever”. (Senior Interviewee, 27)

In summary, fast promotion resulted from having clear goals. This accounted for the way individuals with clear goals overcame some of the barriers they faced in their careers. The data suggested that some participants were extremely career minded. Some of the participants in the more senior roles were far more highly goal oriented than the majority of the other participants (i.e. 68.7%. see chapter 8).

10.2.5 Being able to multitask

Multitasking is the act of doing different things simultaneously (Baron and Ward, 2004). The human brain is capable of working on various activities at the same time. However, this skill differs from person to person (ibid). Of the participants, 45.8 percent reported that they were able to multitask enabling them to handle numerous affairs at the same time. One of the participants (Senior Interviewee, 10) also referred to research which had shown that women have an inherent ability to deal with different matters at the same time. She said: *“It has been scientifically proved that women at one time can perform multiple duties.”*

The participants suggested that facing problems was not an issue for them. Every person faces problems in their daily life. What matters is how these problems are addressed. They believed that they had multitasking skills that they used to work on a number of different household chores and handle them effectively. One of the participants said that she was involved in many professional and personal tasks at the same time:

“I believe women are strong enough to tackle everything. They are better organizers, better managers, they run their homes, and they manage everything. Home is like an institution. If they can run a home they can run organizations too [...]. You can take my example. When I am at home I like to cook. I wash, I clean, and I do everything by myself. I have four elderly people in my house. I take good care of all of them. I cook food for everyone. At the university I believe I can concentrate on different matters all at once”. (Senior Interviewee, 3)

This view was conveyed by another participant. She was using her multitasking skills to manage her career. She believed that with her early training at home and experience acquired over the years in dealing with home matters administrative tasks did not create difficulties for her. She was able to manage both administrative and domestic tasks simultaneously:

“I am good at planning my dual responsibilities. I easily manage administrative and academic tasks. I continue to concentrate on both domains at the same time. However, I never mix them up. I do justice to each of them [...] I believe women have good management qualities.

They can perform different tasks simultaneously. Women can manage their home, I am sure they are able to manage every field”. (Senior Interviewee, 28)

Participants recognized the importance of multitasking to their career success. The data revealed that this skill not only helped them to deal with multiple roles and encouraged them to take up demanding management roles but also helped them to progress in their career.

10.2.6 Having the aptitude for undertaking challenging and leading roles

The analysis of the data revealed that participants’ personal aptitude was associated with advancement in their career. They had challenging roles and maintained strong commitment to them. 31.2 percent indicated that their aptitude for challenging roles had helped them succeed in their careers. The participants were not afraid of taking up challenging tasks rather they were excited to take up such managerial responsibilities. They cited different opportunities as being helpful to their career development:

“I know most women say that management jobs are difficult to manage. They prefer to go into teaching rather than management [...]. For me, challenging and difficult jobs are more attractive. I believe management to be exciting and challenging.” (Junior Interviewee, 41)

Some of the participants indicated that they had made career choices where the posts were regarded as purely men’s jobs. One of the participants said that she had been working in the medical profession. Then she changed her career path, joined a university and took on responsibility for financial matters, a highly demanding task, often perceived as best suited to men:

“People were surprised over my choice and change of career and thought it would be difficult to manage financial matters, because it was so demanding [...] but it is in my nature. I like challenging tasks and enjoy doing them. So I proved myself”. (Senior Interviewee, 14)

The data suggested that the participants, from their childhood, had been fond of leadership roles while participating in plays and games organized in their schools. They always

found leadership interesting. These opportunities provided them with encouragement to move forward in their careers. A participant who performed such roles during her education shared stories of her childhood, school, and college experiences and indicated that initially the leadership she took on was without awareness. However, taking on these roles increased her self-confidence and provided her with greater clarity about her career path:

“I remember in my childhood when all the children used to play games. I was always happy to be a monitor of everything. I always liked taking a leading role in managing games. I participated in games and drama in my school and college lives. I always selected a leading role. Over the passage of time, I realized that this is what I wanted to do in my career. Then I started thinking where should I go and what should I do for my career. Really, this was very useful”. (Junior Interviewee, 48)

The findings revealed the participants’ aptitude and nature had played an important role in their career advancement to senior management positions. The participants credited extracurricular activities for giving them the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities and for giving them confidence in their abilities.

10.2.7 Being transparent and honest as well as competent and capable of holding management positions

Most of the participants (60.4 %) reported being honest, sincere and competent in their official dealings. That contributed to their integrity in their senior management roles. For example, it was believed that the possibility for dishonesty and corruption was relatively less among women. One of the key informants indicated that generally women were honest and dedicated. They were assumed to be less inclined to waste official time. Thus many organizations preferred to have women working for them:

“Generally, women work with dedication. They do not waste time by wandering here and there as men do. Since they remain in their offices, their output is relatively more. Some women might differ in their dealings but generally they are straightforward and reliable”. (Key Informant, 5)

One of the participants acknowledged that she had human weaknesses but that her professional dealings were transparent and honest. She asserted that throughout her career, being a woman she did not exploit things. She believed that if a woman acted like a professional then there is no one like her. People would prefer to have her on board:

“Although I am sometimes short tempered, my dealings with others are very transparent and professional. In my whole career until now, being a woman, I never took favors [...]. Due to that, everybody even my male colleagues respect me a lot and are happy to work for me. The vice-chancellor often wants to see me heading different committees and meetings.” (Senior Interviewee, 20)

Being diligent was believed to be important in making career progress. The participants reported themselves as being meticulous. They followed procedures carefully, they did not like taking short-cuts. They considered that this was best practice and was very important for advancing their careers. They believed that this was taken into account at the time of their selection for their management position:

“I never exploited things and I never liked shortcuts in official matters. I always desire to get things right. This was admired by all. Consequently, I faced less opposition to my management position”. (Senior Interviewee, 7)

Demonstrating competency was also mentioned as a prerequisite for a successful applicant for a managerial position. One participant stated that she was good at administrative work. Her immediate boss assessed her competency and skills and promoted her to the next highest grade:

“After my graduation I joined as assistant to a Head of Department in the university. The Head of the Department assessed my skills. I was good in dealing with official matters. I was always given preference over other colleagues. After a few years I was promoted to a senior level and have continued with my promotions to date”. (Junior Interviewee, 29)

The evidence also referred to the perceived self-efficacy that had led participants to work hard to succeed. One participant described how she benefitted from the capacity for hard work. She derived pleasure from innovating things for the organization. This dedication and devotion was highly regarded and she had been offered different senior management positions:

“I know my tasks and responsibilities. I know how to perform them well. I feel pleasure in doing good things for my university. This kind of attitude makes you strong and people trust you. Many times I have been offered leading positions”. (Senior Interviewee, 11)

Some participants were dynamic, and self-motivated. They liked to work on different new and innovative projects. They believed that the senior authorities in the university had high expectations for them. They wanted to deliver results:

“I always like innovations. I want to do something new for my university. Everybody says I am crazy for work. The vice-chancellor knows my nature and acknowledges this. Thus I have always had a leading role”. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

Participants advanced more in management positions because of their competence and capability at work. This was one of their greatest strengths. They were able to work diligently and honestly. Thus they proved themselves and were vital and important figures within their organizations.

10.3 Educational credentials and professional experience

In addition to their personal attributes the data revealed that the academic credentials of participants also had a substantial and significant impact on their career success. Most of the participants (60.4%) who held a higher degree and had professional experience were given comparatively more opportunities for advancing to senior management positions. (See chapter 4: figure 4.8 & 4.15)

“I know the extra effort that I have put in to gain such good qualifications. My efforts are recognized and rewarded. The high status I have obtained was made possible due to my qualifications.

In addition to this, I have a foreign degree. This added to the significance of my academic credentials”. (Senior Interviewee, 5)

Similarly to the previous evidence, the job experience of participants’ played a major role in their career advancement. They believed that their advancement to senior positions was associated with their many years of experience:

“In my previous job I was associate professor and Head of a Department. I believe that my previous experience made me professionally sound and made me preferred over the other candidates”. (Senior, Interviewee, 11)

One of the participants’, who was offered a most senior job after her retirement, said that her experience was appropriate to start and run an academic department:

“I retired last year but I have not spent a single day at home. Before retiring, I was given a new responsibility to start an academic department. I was reluctant but the vice-chancellor persuaded me that he needed an experienced person like me to initiate this important task”. (Senior Interviewee, 25)

One of the participants attributed her success in senior management positions to having the necessary qualifications at the right time:

“I was in the right place at the right time. I completed my PhD after two years of my Masters degree. I got my first senior title at a very young age as compared to other women in the field [...]. I always made the right decisions and did not miss the opportunities available for my career development”. (Senior Interviewee, 16)

Educational qualifications and professional experience were helpful and important to participants’ careers and had compelled appointing authorities to prefer them over others.

10. 4 Chapter summary

On the basis of participants' responses this chapter considered what had contributed towards their career advancement, the experiences they had had and how they maintained their positions. They provided numerous examples of the ways in which their personal qualities and attributes had helped them to succeed. The data showed that most of the participants were self-assured and had confidence in their own abilities and had proved themselves in comparison with stereotypical notions of women in management roles.

Determination to be successful was reported to be important in participants' ability to overcome career constraints. The participants were determined to succeed and overcome any obstacles to their career path. They did not give up when faced with difficulties. A small number of the participants were more ambitious and career focused than the others. They were passionate about having a management career. This motivated them to acquire the necessary qualifications and gave them the strength to continue in the face of adversity. Participants had to meet many demands on their time (see chapter 5). Multitasking was helpful to them in managing their time better and getting things done on time. This, in return, supported their work and career development. Some participants enjoyed taking on challenging roles and found this inspiring.

The participants reported that they were transparent and honest in their professional dealings. This increased their credibility which in turn supported their advancement to senior management positions. Their competency and capability also shaped participants' suitability for leadership positions. In addition, the participants' education and experience was highly regarded and rewarded. The research suggested that the more education and experience the participants received the more likely they were to be preferred for senior management positions in universities.

The next chapter deals with the 4th research question and sheds light on the supportive factors and personal coping strategies which were perceived to facilitate a positive work-life balance at the interface of work and family life.

Section III

CHAPTER 11

Interface of work-family life: supportive factors and personal coping strategies

11.1 Introduction

With reference to the main focus of the research which is to identify familial, societal, organizational and personal factors influencing the appointment of women to senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan, the first section of the qualitative findings presented the analysis of the data relevant to the second research question, the key constraints that women faced at familial, societal, organizational and personal level to their career success. The second section presented the analysis of the data relevant to the third research question and explored the significant factors that supported women to achieve senior level management positions.

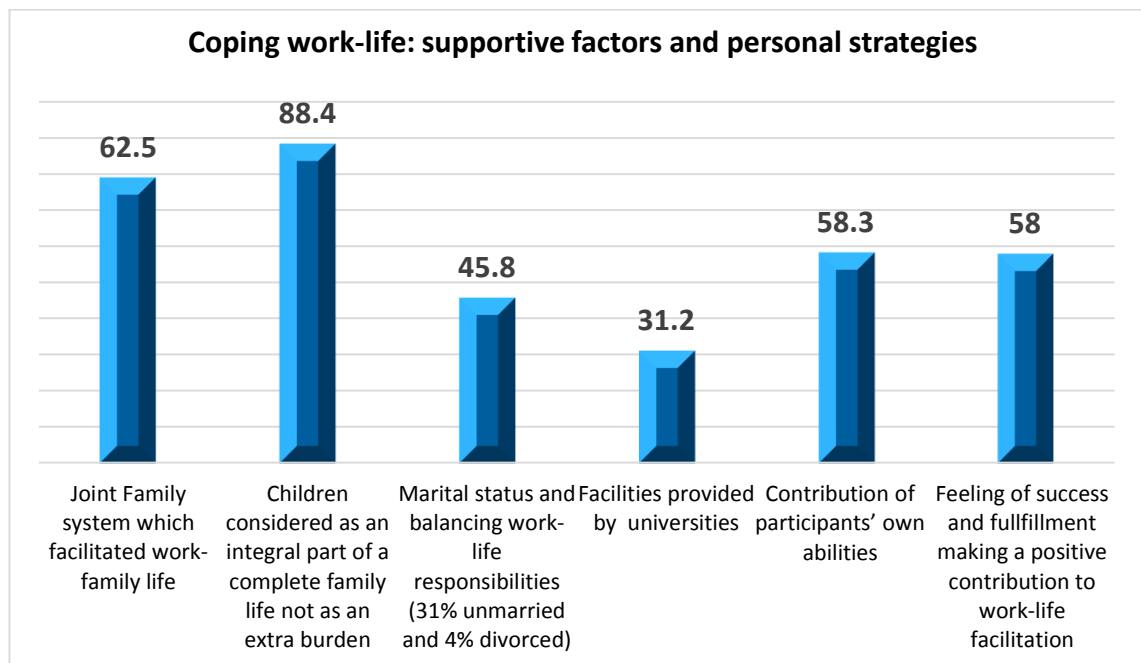
This section presents the analysis of the data relevant to the fourth research question *Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan?* The analysis based on participants' responses addressed the supportive factors and individual coping strategies which the women adopted to deal with the challenges of managing work-family roles with reference to the way that they affected women's careers in higher education management. The participants experienced the relationship between career advancement and work-life balance in different ways within their specific home and work contexts. The data revealed that as small number of participants had experienced the work-family interface as an issue. Most reported that they did not experience any difficulties with the work-family interface which hindered their careers. The research explored how the participants managed to achieve senior management positions while still managing their family responsibilities. Many of the interviewees indicated that despite their assumed social role within Pakistani culture, a range of different positive factors had had a significant impact on their dual role responsibilities, all of which contributed to their advancement and their ability to combine career and family. These included:

- joint family system which facilitated work-family life;
- children considered as an integral part of a complete family life not as an extra burden;

- marital status and balancing work-life responsibilities (31% unmarried and 4% divorced);
- facilities provided by universities;
- contribution of participants' own abilities;
- feelings of success and fulfilment making a positive contribution to work-family life facilitation.

Figure 11.1 presents the frequency of responses related to participants' perceptions about the supportive factors and individual approaches that had a positive impact on the work-family interface.

Figure 11.1 Interface of work-family life: supportive factors and personal coping strategies



11.2 The interface of work-family life and coping: supportive factors and personal coping strategies

'Inter-role conflict' (Kahn et al., 1964) occurs when role pressures from work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Generally, it is assumed that due to women's strong commitment to family responsibilities and career obligations, they experience a clash between their work and family domains (Miller, 2006). Noor (2006) argued that dual roles can be particularly challenging for the professional woman manager as she works towards fulfilling the

expectations of both roles. High job demands mean that women devote extensive time to work and experience difficulties maintaining their home and caring for children, and aging family members (Roehling and Moen, 2003). Consequently, they often perceived role conflict as an obstacle to their career development (Domenico and Jones, 2006) (See chapter 2).

As described earlier the participants had encountered diverse challenges in their progression to the upper levels of management as they attempted to fulfill family responsibilities as well as satisfying role expectations in the work domain (Chapter 5, 6 and 7). The data suggested that the participants were capable of overcoming some of the challenges with the help of family members and the facilities provided by their organizations as per general public policy. To facilitate a positive work-family life their personal and professional abilities also played a significant role. The participants experienced a sense of fulfillment and contentment from having multiple roles. Thus dual role responsibilities did not inhibit participants from ascending to the top of organizations. The data revealed a number of factors that explained the absence of work-family conflict.

11.3 Joint family systems which facilitated work family life

Families emerged as a significant supportive factor for the majority of the participants (62.5%) (Figure 4.11) as they tried to combine career and family roles which meant that they could fulfill roles at home and at work. The cooperation of joint family members was a dominant feature in different ways. For example, in the joint family set up, the traditional role of grandmothers in the provision of care to their grandchildren was repeatedly acknowledged. One of the participants said:

“It is a fact that my career responsibilities and my family life often put pressure on me. Sometimes, they caused great physical and mental stress. [...]. Once it became extremely hard for me to combine long work hours with my family responsibilities [...]. My parents-in-law were living in our hometown which was far away from our employment city. They knew our difficulties. Then we mutually decided to live at one place. They moved to our city. We rented a big house. My sisters and brothers-in-law got admission to the colleges. Thus, finally we got a joint family set up. I acknowledge

that this system is very helpful in one way or another. Everybody contributes in whatever way possible. At once our life became easy”.
(Junior Interviewee, 46)

In response to a query about problems arising from joint family systems, further to her statement above she added:

“It might differ from person to person but I feel comfortable in a big family set up. There are no worries about household chores”.

Other participants also indicated that managing multiple roles alone was not easy and that they required support from their families. Participants wanted to look after their children with the help of their families. One of the respondents indicated:

“In the initial stage of my career, I was very confused. I was not able to cope with domestic responsibilities. I always had a messy morning full of hustle and bustle. I often was late getting to my office [...]. First thing in the morning, along with other responsibilities, was preparing the breakfast for everybody. I had to make everything ready for my young child to drop him off to the university day care. My daily work schedule often conflicted with my home life. [...]. Finally, my husband lost his temper and wanted me to quit my job. I was very worried about the situation. It was difficult for me to leave my career. I tried to convince him to find another option. Then we decided to ask my mother-in-law to help us. She was living in her hometown. Although elderly people usually do not feel easy to leave their homes and live in a new place, she kindly accepted our request for the sake of our comfort. We used to leave our child with her. Due to her presence our maid could come in during the day to do domestic tasks. Thus, we both breathed a sigh of relief”. (Senior Interviewee, 27)

The research found differences between the role obligations of the participants in nuclear families and joint families. The junior participants living in a nuclear family reported that

managing both career and family was very hard especially when the children were quite young. They indicated that, in time of need they took advantage of supportive family members. For example one participant said:

“A more senior management position is very demanding [...]. It is quite challenging to perform dual responsibilities. However, the work-life issue is not a daily problem. Whenever I met this kind of situation in my life, I found effective ways to deal with it [...]. Allah also helped us as I and my husband are working in the same area. This is very convenient for us. We made arrangements to take care of our child without any tensions. While we are going to work, we leave our child with my mother. She lives in the same city. When we return home, we pick him up. Thus we are enjoying the benefits of both nuclear and joint family systems [...]. For domestic chores I have a maid at home. We adjust her working hours when we are at home.” (Junior Interviewee, 40)

Some of the participants acknowledged that the demands of management work imposed greater stress on their personal lives. It carried the possibility of losing a sense of balance and a comfortable family life. In such circumstances one of the participants mentioned the moral support and positive thoughts of joint family members. The social support she received meant that she did not have to choose between career and family:

“Sometimes, I was so occupied with my job that I thought I wouldn’t be able to manage my home responsibilities [...] Then I thought I should leave my career. I love my family. I love my children. I did not want to make them all suffer. However, when I put this idea to my sons and husband, they all thought it was not good idea for me to leave my career. They offered their assistance for undertaking different household tasks. Thus I was supported in my household activities by my two young sons as I have no daughter. We all shared home responsibilities. In this way all my worries about domestic responsibilities almost disappeared”. (Senior Interviewee, 3)

It was acknowledged by the participants that due to the facilitating behavior of family members they were able to manage work and family life simultaneously. If this had not been the case it would have been difficult for them to meet work and family commitments effectively. They would have had to reduce the hours they devoted to work or might have had to sacrifice their career to undertake their family roles.

11.4 Marital status and balancing work-life responsibilities

As far as marital status and work-family responsibilities were concerned, the data found little difference between the lives of married (65%) and unmarried (31%) participants. Although unmarried participants reported being free from married life responsibilities, it was not always married women that required extra effort to maintain their homes. Unmarried participants also had commitments to their parents, brothers and sisters in addition to their work. There were also two single mothers who had the sole responsibility of caring and providing for their children while also managing their work roles.

The findings did not reveal any differences between unmarried (31%) and divorced participants (4%) in relation to their work-family responsibilities. Unmarried participants were engaged with elderly care responsibilities. However, they felt satisfaction in looking after their parents and did not consider this to be an extra burden on them, so perceived no conflict in their work-family lives:

“People assume that since I am unmarried I don’t have other commitments and I can manage to work for long hours without any problems. I feel this is just taken for granted [...] I work the same as married women. I tend to work usually from morning till evening in the office. When I get back home, I give time to my dependant mother and sister. I make sure all of their needs are met [...]. It is quite a busy routine but to me this is all part of my life. I never feel any bother in doing this. I always feel good that I am doing something for them [...]. I am blessed to be able to take care of my mother”. (Senior Interviewee, 20)

Further to this it was found that the participants saw it as their moral and religious duty to take care of their parents. They always thought of it in that way and did it willingly rather than complaining. They happily provided their dependants with all of the things that they needed:

“Being the only daughter at home I take full responsibility for taking good care of my parents. Although, I am unmarried I still make a huge commitment to my job and to my parents. The important thing is that I never feel that I am doing something extra for them. I do everything with much love and affection. It is my religious obligation too. Parents are entitled by right to kind and dutiful treatment from children. This is an important duty which Allah emphasizes strongly [...]. It is not at all any difficulty for me. Indeed I feel much pleasure in taking care of my beloved parents. I feel blessed to have this opportunity to serve my parents”. (Junior Interviewee, 23)

It was found that managing the responsibilities of work and family was not that challenging for single mothers. The participants identified disciplined strategies which helped them to establish the necessary balance to reduce dual roles stress and keep their lives running smoothly. One of the two participants said:

“I am a single mother. I have one daughter. I live with my mother. [...]. After work, I try to spend as much time with them as I can. I take time at the week-end to do the grocery shopping and take them on an outing [...]. We always eat together. We watch TV together. Before bedtime, I always help my daughter with her homework. [...] In the morning my mother helps her get ready for school. Meanwhile I get ready [...] I take my daughter to school and pick her up when school finishes. I bring her to my office. I keep her busy with her drawings till I finish [...]. My daughter is physically and emotionally healthy. She never complains about missing anything in her life [...]. I try to give my daughter a better education and a better life [...]. It might be the case that I am a little more conscious that I am a single parent and solely responsible for bringing up my daughter [...]. However, I have control over matters that

might create work-family conflict. I manage my official duties without any stress.” (Senior Interviewee, 32)

Generally, it is assumed that home-work challenges are not faced by unmarried working women who do not have to manage the care of children. They tend to be thought of as being able to work long hours with no difficulty. However, the data showed that the unmarried participants had equal domestic demands as they took care of dependants. However, spending time with their parents and taking care of them made them contented. The single mothers, with support, and the adoption of a disciplined life style also managed to maintain a balance between their family and work.

11.5 Children considered as an integral part of a complete family life not as an extra burden

The literature suggests that women see the demands of family life and having children adding to work-family conflict and interfering with achieving career success (Colman, 2011). However, the research revealed that children were thought of as enhancing participants’ personal life and minimizing work-family issues. The majority of the participants (88.4%) did not see the demands of family life with children interfering with achieving their career success. Having children was thought to be the best part of their lives. The pleasure of nurturing them was evident from their narratives. They were happy and satisfied in putting in every effort for their upbringing. One of the participants said:

“It is always surprising to me that some women forgo children in order to pursue their career. Not having children to pursue a career is quite unappealing to me. I might be wrong but in our society I never came across women who preferred their career over children. Raising children is an exciting part of our lives. I believe we all happily overcome difficulties for our children. Therefore, whatever circumstances we face we never get frustrated. We never see the responsibility of children as in conflict with our careers. I never ever thought that my children would interfere with achieving success in my career. At any cost I wouldn’t forgo them for my career”. (Senior Interviewee, 24)

Among 16.6% of the participants who reported working late in the evenings (see chapter 4, figure 4.16) a few of them considered that their lengthy working hours meant that they could not spend as much time as they wished with their children. They often suffered from guilt at not spending enough time with their children while they were very young. However, most of them said that they had succeeded in managing to spend time with them whenever possible. For example one of the participants reported that either their children stayed with their grandparents or they took children with them to work while attending long official engagements:

“We never left our children unattended at home [...]. We tried to give as much time to our children as we could [...]. For example, if I had to attend a university function or I had to attend lengthy official meetings I took my children with me. To keep them busy, I asked them to spend their time in the library. I made appropriate arrangements for their reading and writing activities around the library. I took great satisfaction from doing this”. (Senior Interviewee, 1)

Those respondents who had no children suggested that in Pakistani society women did not view children as a burden. This was one of the main reasons for the low inter-role conflict among married working women. One of the married participants who had no children and no extended family spoke about her lack of family responsibilities. She felt an increasing desire to have a child and felt unhappy that she did not have domestic responsibilities:

“I really think there are so many different responsibilities that a woman has to take care of, alongside her work responsibilities, when she either has children or extended family members to look after. [...] I don't have children. When I am at home, I am busy in the kitchen [...] I have very limited domestic responsibilities on a routine basis and it is therefore thought that as I have no children I have fewer worries. Truly speaking, I am not happy with the situation. I want to have children [...] I believe that in our culture, children are not taken as a burden but the blessing of Allah [...]. I never opted to forgo having children to avoid extra responsibilities [...] If I had

children then nothing in the world would be more important to me than taking care of my children.” (Senior Interviewee, 21)

One of the participants credited her work-life balance to her grown up children:

“My domestic life was fairly traditional for a mother and wife. I struggled for years with my young children. But I am satisfied I took good care of them. Now they are adults. I have no worries about them.” (Junior Interviewee, 30)

The work-family responsibilities of participants with children compared to those of participants without children were different. The demands of family and work posed challenges to those with children. However, participants perceived this as normal and accepted it as part of their overall happy lives. They never considered forgoing having children to focus on their high-pressured jobs. They tried to make it as easy as possible to have a career and a family.

11.6 Facilities provided by universities

In accord with public policy, generally, the most senior university officers are entitled to have access to full-time help from servants. These servants are paid for by their organizations and provide services to senior officers free of charge. Their assigned work ranges from housekeeping to laundry and ironing. To facilitate travel most senior officers are provided with chauffeur driven cars. In order to provide these services to senior officials and facilitate them in meeting their work-home responsibilities servants and drivers are usually housed at the homes of senior employees. Some of the participants (31.2 %) working in senior management positions reported that they were entitled to have such provision. Therefore, in terms of combining an administrative career with a family, the benefits of senior level positions presented a very different scenario. For them combining a management career with a family was not an issue. However, a few of them acknowledged that the smooth daily routine regarding household tasks was possible only due to such help at home. One of the participants said:

“I admit I just could not do without servants. I have a couple living in my servant quarters provided by the university. A male servant

provides me with technical assistance and a great deal of support in other different tasks. The lady manages my home, looking after my young children and meeting other work responsibilities. Almost all domestic chores are managed by this couple. I don't have to do that at all. Thus I feel everything is under control". (Senior Interviewee, 7)

Regarding the provision of chauffeur driven cars the senior participants stated that they had no travel worries. They had been provided with comfortable cars to facilitate their travelling for official purposes. This provision was an important contributor towards the facilitation of official activities. One of the senior participants articulated:

"My role involves long working hours and a great amount of travel within and between cities. I commute daily quite a long way [...]. My official car is like an office for me. Whatever official files need to be seen, I read them while travelling. I am never bored by having to travel a lot. Rather, after having quite a tough routine, I always feel relaxed sitting in the back seat of my official car [...]. This is the best time to think and to plan further". (Senior Interviewee, 16)

Another participant echoed these views in relation to the choice of means of travel:

"To attend an official meeting, I always prefer to go by car instead of travelling by air. Official cars provided by the government are more convenient than aeroplanes [...] Waiting at airports is quite boring and tiring too. Although traveling by road takes more time I utilize this time working on different official files". (Senior Interviewee, 26)

One of the senior participants, who was also entitled to the provision of transport facilities, had developed strategies for utilizing the time available while travelling. She made plans to benefit from it in the following ways:

“Although my daily travel from home to university is lengthy it does not matter. I feel very relaxed sitting in the back seat of my official car. I use this time looking at my official files, reading newspapers, and books or making phone calls [...]. Really, this saves a lot of energy and reduces work tension. Otherwise it would be very hard to commute in peak times.” (Senior Interviewee, 17)

Although university childcare centres were reported to not be very reliable, they still continued to be a major source of support for the working women. The availability of childcare facilities at the universities had helped some junior participants who wanted their children to attend these centres. This helped them balance work and home:

“Though I am not satisfied with the care provided by the day care centre staff, as sometimes they treat the children harshly, still I prefer to use this opportunity. [...]. Although, I have a maid in our house and we allow her to work in our presence particularly at the weekends, we don’t want to leave her in our home alone with our child. This is not secure. Taking account of this, the daycare facility is very valuable and contributes to the childcare responsibilities.” (Junior Interviewee, 41)

The senior and junior participants who were not entitled to have chauffeur driven cars were facilitated by other means of transportation provided by the university. This made their lives easier. One of the participants said:

“I have no worries. I have a set pattern of work and family life [...]. I am living on campus in a university housing building. The university staff van runs between campuses and leaves every half an hour, till late in the evening. So commuting to any university campus is very easy. I have planned my home and work schedules according to this. I’ve never had a problem in reaching the office on time. Either I am at home or at the office. Mostly I work with peace of mind [...]. Even, when I have to go shopping, I have found the university transportation like no other [...]. For me the transport facility

removes all worries. It saves a lot of time which you can easily devote to your other responsibilities”. (Senior Interviewee, 19)

The data revealed that the participants appreciated the organizational facilities that they had utilized in managing their career and family responsibilities. Although the status of participants working in junior and senior management positions differed in terms of what was provided by the university, the majority of the participants managed their housekeeping, childcare, and all other areas of running a home using some of the provided services.

11.7 Contribution of participants’ own abilities

The participants credited several factors for maintaining a relatively stress free environment both at work and home. Demanding work-family roles and the desire for a peaceful working and living environment led them to utilize their personal abilities. More than fifty percent (58.3 %) of participants developed their professional and personal roles in such a way to help them to achieve their careers with relatively few difficulties. The interviews revealed that the following abilities had a significant impact on their work life.

11.7.1 The adoption of different strategies to overcome inter-role conflict

One of the strategies exercised by the participants to overcome work-family role conflict was their own attitudes towards work and life. Some of them indicated that they had never felt any pressure fulfilling the requirements of both domains. They adopted a range of strategies for minimizing the possibility of conflict. For example, one of the senior participants articulated how she managed her home:

“While at home I remain focused on family matters, a role I greatly enjoy. I perform the traditional homemaker role and help family members with all matters. I enjoy cooking which I mostly do at the weekends. I enjoy inviting friends to dinner [...]. It is a fact that if you have passion for whatever you do at home or at work, it really makes a difference to your enjoyment of life. I think this makes you a better parent and a successful professional”. (Senior Interviewee, 6)

A few of the participants applied their assertive skills to manage work and family matters. For example, some participants realized that they were not giving proper time to their families. Following this, they took some time away from work to share activities with their children. They refused to attend meetings late in the evenings, tried to return home early and avoided staying very late. This strategy did not affect their work obligations. One of the participants said:

“I did not refuse to attend meetings in the day. I am very particular about managing things accurately and professionally but I try to avoid official meetings late in the evening. I have pointed out explicitly to everyone that we can avoid having meetings scheduled in the evenings [...]. The important thing is the recognition of the problem, which can then lead to finding a solution.” (Senior Interviewee, 18)

Some of the participants admitted that their busy work schedule made it difficult for them to spend enough time with their families but they were able to justify this through pointing out the advantages of their work:

“It has not always been pleasant [...] Enjoying career and family is quite difficult. Many times my husband is in a difficult mood even relating to minor issues because of the hectic routine of my official tasks. He often complains that we do not have enough leisure time [...]. I explain to him that my work obligations are unavoidable if I am to get such a handsome salary and in return I am obligated to work hard. He is convinced. [...] It means a lot to me that at least he understands my job requirements”. (Senior Interviewee, 14)

The findings suggested that the participants tried to organize their schedules and plans carefully to be practical. The ability to work in an organized manner made it easier for the participants to accommodate work and family requirements. This was an effective strategy for reducing work pressure:

“I focus on urgent and important tasks rather than those that are not important. I always make a list of what I must get through in a day or week. For example, I used to write two separate to-do lists, what I would like to get through in the office and in my home and focus on completing those on that day. I always try not to leave tasks incomplete”. (Junior, Interviewee, 30)

Some of the participants indicated that while it was difficult to manage dual responsibilities simultaneously, they succeeded by making a fair distribution of time between both roles:

“It does not mean that I am not facing work-family challenges. Like many working women today, I am facing the same problem of work life balance. At one time a smooth life seemed difficult to maintain. I had difficulties in managing things. Then I forced myself to be organized and set my priorities and goals both in work and family roles. I distributed appropriate time for each role and now it is rare that I cannot do something because of my family or work responsibilities”. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

Adaptability was identified as the most important strategy among the participants to attain a satisfactory work-life balance:

“There is no need to blame home responsibilities for women’s lack of career promotion. I think it is a simple matter of management and understanding. I engage in my workplace with full commitment and dedication. But even if it is needed, I have had never compromised and taken time off for my family [...]. It is important to understand the situation. (Senior Interviewee, 8)

Despite the dual role pressures that participants confronted the majority of them tried not to develop conflict with family members. When it came to arranging work-family lives, they sacrificed their own comfort for the sake of family members and avoided the possibility of conflict:

“The only thing which created difficulties is that I sacrificed my personal concerns but did not compromise my family’s needs. My own personal interests are not that important to me. This is the main reason that I don’t have any conflict in my family and personal life [...] I believe all working women make many small sacrifices for their family and avoid potential clashes between work and family”.

(Focus group participant, 5)

Most of the participants succeeded in managing their families simultaneously with their career. This was associated with their positive attitudes and realistic thinking:

“I understand it when people talk about work-family balance. People have to find their own solutions. It is your inner feelings that matter, what you feel about it [...]. Sometimes people do nothing but still they are not happy in their lives. For some a busy schedule makes them happy. I am the second kind of person. I prefer to keep busy. I am much happier when I am working. More than two holidays makes me bored. I go to the office and do the best I can there and then I come home and do the best I can at home. I keep my life on this rotation. I feel good about it. People need to feel like that. Actually, this is a real balance between work-and home”. (Focus group, participant, 4)

The research suggested that balancing the work and family domains was not an easy task for the participants to manage but they had adopted a range of strategies drawing on their personal qualities in order to achieve a satisfactory balance.

11.7.2 Delegation at work

A further strategy adopted by 58 percent of the participants was delegation of responsibility to others. One of the participants stated that she was never afraid to delegate to her colleagues and subordinates and acknowledged their role in offering her cooperation which enabled her to manage her work responsibilities:

“Being in a responsible position at work I want to have every task completed perfectly. However, I am against holding power for myself. I think this is unjust to others as well ourselves. I personally like to get others to contribute and share responsibilities. I understand that when you involve others in getting things done, this not only makes them feel good and empowers them and gives them confidence but you also lessen your workload. So I delegate at work. Consequently, I share my responsibilities and minimize the amount of work.” (Senior Interviewee, 15)

The same strategy was adopted by another participant who spoke about her management techniques for completing different activities and daily tasks efficiently:

“A significant habit I have learnt over time is to delegate responsibilities to my colleagues and subordinates according to their abilities. Some are brilliant, very hardworking, and well organized. I try to make the best use of them. Along these lines I divide my workload and pass it onto others. Rarely, do I stay late in my office to finish daily tasks.” (Senior, Interviewee, 5)

The research found a connection between work-life facilitation and participants’ professional and personal attributes which enabled them to organize their work and family responsibilities efficiently and professionally.

11.7.3 Feelings of success and fulfillment making a positive contribution to work-family life facilitation

The data showed that feelings of success and achievement were derived from engaging in multiple domains of work and family life and that this was gratifying for most of the participants (58%). They reflected upon their career and family lives within the Pakistani system and indicated that working in senior management positions especially in higher education management had boosted their self-esteem. They believed that they were able to manage the balance between holding senior positions with family roles. The following examples showed that the importance of senior roles contributed to and allowed participants to be fulfilled in both their work and personal domains:

“Although I haven’t any time for myself what I have achieved so far gives me a complete sense of self satisfaction. This is the reward of my job. I start working in the early hours of the morning and finish late. I enjoy each and every moment while sitting in my executive office. I love every minute of it. This gives me a sense of pride that I have achieved with continued effort [...]. I feel I have an addiction to work. I never like holidays. (Senior Interviewee, 2)

One of the participants indicated that feelings of achievement and related excitement kept her working in her professional life despite the challenges of balancing the work-family interface:

“I am holding a very important position with many responsibilities. I understand that I have very prestigious status. I actually feel satisfaction with my career progression. I feel happy to think that I am making an important contribution to my university. These feelings keep me going in my work and family circles. I never feel exhausted rather I enjoy working. I feel very lucky to have the opportunity to get this important position”. (Senior Interviewee, 7)

The research found that participants felt valued for what they were contributing to their organizations. The success of their career life contributed to their sense of personal fulfillment. The evidence suggested that they were gratified with their high status which had a positive impact on their willingness to perform dual responsibilities.

11.8 Chapter Summary

The data indicated that there was not a single participant who claimed that work-family issues were completely absent from their lives. Dual commitments to a career and a family were reported to be complex to manage. Some family issues as well as individual circumstances created particular difficulties for the participants in combining work and family life (see chapters 5 and 6).

The data presented in this chapter indicated that participants did not perceive these difficulties as insurmountable. Work-family interface challenges were considered as part

of their dual roles and could not be avoided but several helpful aspects were indicated and participants reported adopting different approaches and practices to overcome the challenges.

The type of family was reported as an important facilitative factor in supporting work-life domains. The participants frequently acknowledged the positive impact of joint family systems and recognized that such extended families provided considerable support in the facilitation of career and family roles.

The family structure, whether there were children or not, was found to be important. Although having children was reported to increase family demands and create a potential imbalance in work-life domains, the participants considered children as an integral part of their family life and as one of the blessings of God. This was a source of strength in reducing difficulties in their children's upbringing. Some participants devoted themselves to their career because they had no children, however, this was not a deliberate decision taken to advance their career.

While unmarried participants experienced fewer difficulties than those who were married, they frequently had elderly care commitments and younger brothers and sisters to look after. The care of parents was reported as a source of contentment for them. The data suggested that they thought themselves blessed for doing something for their family members. This belief meant that combining work and family roles was not an issue for them.

The participants attributed their ability to facilitate a positive work-life balance to different factors which were interlinked. Work-life conflict was quite low in the case of senior participants who had considerable support provided by their universities. For those not entitled to such extensive benefits due to their comparatively junior positions, there were still opportunities to leave their children in university day care centres.

The data suggested that managing career and family challenges required a particular approach to life, family and work. Participants adopted particular strategies to help them maintain an appropriate balance including delegating work. Their achievements gave them satisfaction and they had high self-esteem and a sense of empowerment. Their

enjoyment of their work and the excitement they derived from it enabled them to manage the demands of work and family.

Based on the evidence accumulated in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, the final chapter reiterates the research questions, integrates and synthesizes the various issues raised, presents the conclusions reached, sets out the limitations of the research, and the implications.

CHAPTER 12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

12.1 Introduction

To develop an in-depth understanding of the factors influencing women's career progression in senior management positions in public sector universities in Pakistan, this research aimed to examine the constraints that hindered and the factors that assisted the women in achieving senior management positions at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels. The previous chapters (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) analysed the data in terms of the experiences of the study participants. In this chapter, I critically explore and examine the perceptions and experiences of women in relation to their career progression with particular reference to the research questions.

In order to address this broad aim, four research questions were identified at the start of the thesis:

- Q. 1. What is the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities of the women participating in the research? ?
- Q. 2. What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational, and personal levels, to their advancement to senior management positions?
- Q. 3. What factors support women's advancement to senior management positions at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels?
- Q. 4. Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan?

The following sections summarize the main findings, discuss the major conclusions in light of existing research and outline the significance of the findings, the methodological limitations and the contribution made to the literature on the factors influencing women's career progression in Pakistan.

Finally, I will identify important issues arising from the research which should be considered by Government authorities, Higher education policy makers, the Higher Education Commission, and university administrators intending to promote the career development of women in higher education and management. I will also outline the implications of the research for facilitating women's access to senior management positions. The following sections set out the responses to each research question.

12.2 What is the gender based distribution of management positions among the universities of the women participating in the research?

Chapter 4 presented the findings from the survey of the universities where the interviewees were employed and indicated that there were relatively few women in senior management positions, for example, women accounted for 238 (24.0%) of the total 987 management positions in all basic pay scales (BPS, 17-22), as compared to men who held 749 (75.8%) of positions in all categories. This reflects findings from the international literature which also indicate that men occupy the majority of senior management positions in higher education. While a significant proportion of women enter higher education management (Morley, 2013), relatively few still occupy the most senior positions (Adler and Izraeli, 1988; Wirth, 2001; Davidson and Burke, 2004). In Pakistan, the findings revealed that this was also the case for women only universities. Although the positions of vice-chancellor tend to be held by women in the women's universities, other administrative positions still seem to be dominated by men. For example, men formed the majority in the grade 17 pay scale (53.3 %) compared to women (46.6%) where women are expected to be in greater numbers in all positions. Although men in BPS 18 (40%) and in BPS 19 (44.4%) were fewer than women (60% and 55.5%), the differences were not marked (see chapter 4 for details)

In the eight studied universities women's representation also fluctuated between about 25 percent to 27 percent in grades BPS 17 and 18. Although women's representation in these positions was slightly better and there appeared to be a positive trend with regard to women selecting management positions as compared to earlier periods, they were still significantly lower numbers of women compared with men. Furthermore, these positions were not considered as being positions of power (Holden and McCarthy, 2007).

12.3 What major constraints do women face at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels, to their advancement to senior management positions?

The participants' responses relating to this question were set out in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Overall, a range of reasons were offered as to why women continue to be under-represented in senior management positions in the public sector universities of Pakistan. The key findings are briefly set out here with more detailed consideration in later sections. In chapter 5 the following areas emerged as potential constraints that had created difficulties to career

progression in the familial domain. The percentage of women responding in relation to each theme are included in brackets:

- gender role stereotypes (62.5%);
- house hold chores (31.5%);
- the bearing and caring of children (26.9%);
- elderly care responsibilities (25.2%);
- family commitments (45.8%);
- women's own choices relating to work and family (52.0%); and
- women pressured not to work by their family members (10.4%).

The effects of family constraints on:

- career progression (20.8%);
- incongruity between work and family (14.5%); and
- lack of time for socialization and personal care (66.6%).

Chapter 6 presented the data regarding societal constraints to women's career progression. These included:

- the influence of patriarchal societal practices on women's professional careers and progression to management positions (65.5%);
- preconceived ideas about appropriate gender specific jobs which resulted in occupational segregation (58.3%);
- the influence of preconceived ideas for gender specific jobs on women's career progression (52.08%);
- the influence of stereotypes relating to women's abilities and management style on women's career progression (62.5%);
- perceptions of the lack of importance of women developing a professional career (45.8%); and
- social constraints on the activities and mobility of women (31.2%).

On the basis of participants' responses, chapter 7 demonstrated the organizational constraints related to:

- recruitment policies for senior management positions; (62.5%)
- the lack of a supportive environment for professional development in universities in the form of organizational anomalies and organizational glitches; (66.6%)

- subtle ways of discriminating against women (70.8%);
- favoritism/preferential treatment (75%);
- challenges to women's authority (52.0%);
- excessive workload/ long hours and related stress (20.8%);
- queen bee syndrome (72.9%);
- academic associations/issues of networking (62.5%); and
- political interference in universities (72.9%).

Chapter 8 focused on the barriers to women's career progression, related to constraints which the women placed on themselves:

Lack of Personal attributes:

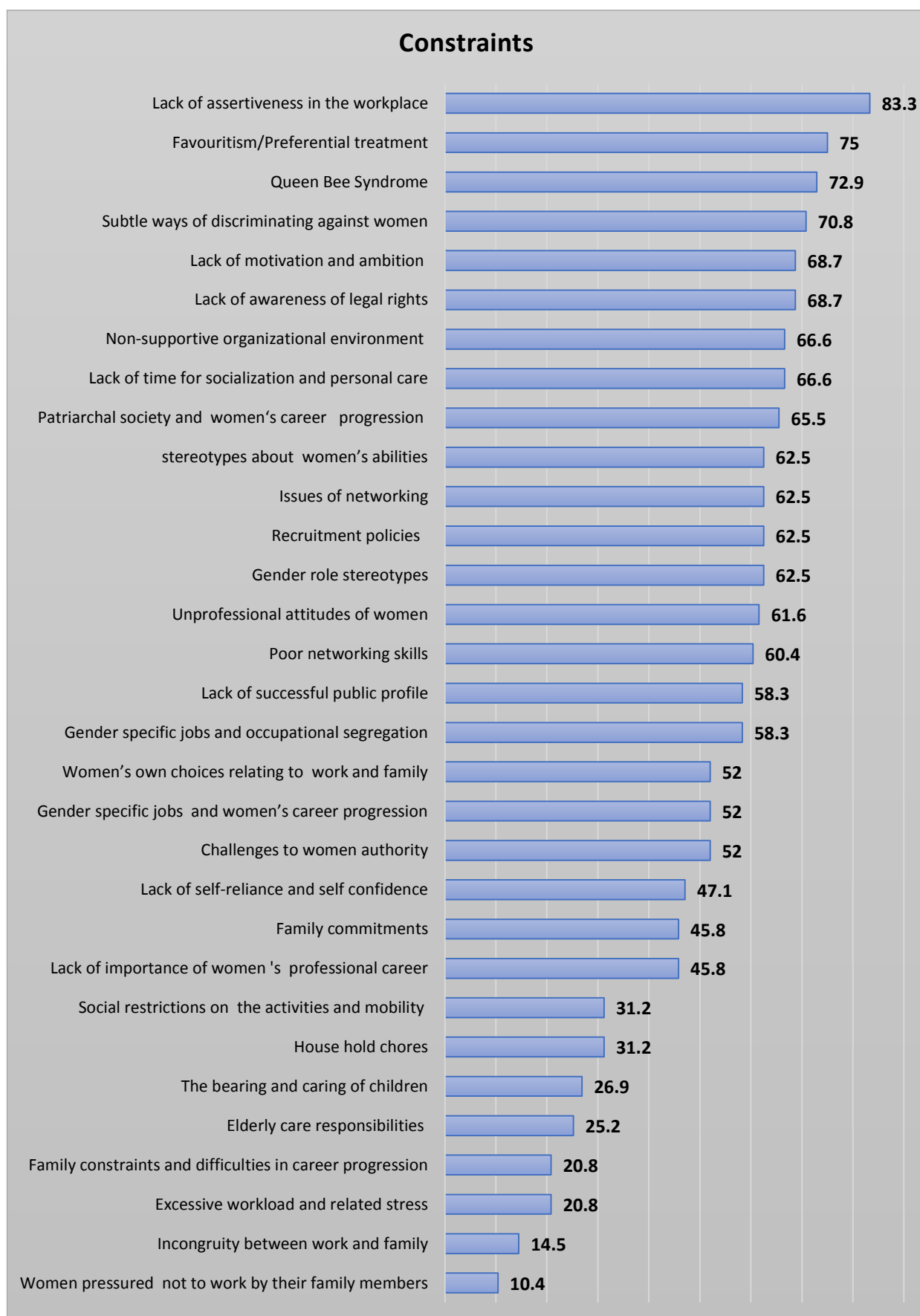
- lack of self-reliance and self-confidence (47.1%);
- lack of motivation and ambition to gain a management position (68.7%).

Lack of Professional attributes

- lack of assertiveness in the workplace (83.3%);
- unprofessional attitudes in the workplace (61.6%);
- lack of awareness of legal rights (68.7%);
- poor networking skills (60.4%); and
- lack of successful public profiles (58.3%).

Figure 12. 1 shows graphically all of the themes emerging in relation to the constraints relating to familial, societal, organizational and personal domains which can obstruct women's advancement to senior management positions. The areas which were mentioned by the highest percentage of women concerned lack of assertiveness in the workplace, favouritism, Queen Bee syndrome, subtle ways of discrimination, lack of motivation and lack of awareness of legal rights. The themes with the lowest percentages of women mentioning them were almost all related to family issues.

Figure 12.1 Frequency of constraints to women's career advancement to senior management positions



The following sections discuss the key findings relating to research second question two in terms of the existing literature. Overall the findings support previous research (Onsongo, 2004; Zulu, 2003) which suggests that, at university level, the lack of women in senior management positions is due to external and internal barriers. The barriers include familial, societal and organizational constraints and other factors that have to do with women's lack of personal and professional attributes.

12.3.1 Familial and Societal constraints

With reference to the first research question the Participants did not perceive any restrictions from Islamic religious teachings (Al-Jada, 2009; Hassan, 2004; Ghadanfar, 2001) but perceived constraints in terms of cultural values and attitudes. The socio-cultural context was indicated as an important factor limiting women's career advancement supporting much previous research, for example, Smith and Crimes (2007), Coleman (2011), Jogulu and Wood (2011), Shah and Shah (2012), Moorosi (2000), Vinnicombe and Singh (2003), Bligh and Kohles (2008), and Greyvenstein (1990). These studies associated the lack of representation of women in senior management positions with the socio-cultural context and the related traditional patriarchal perspective on gender roles as one of the main barriers to women's career advancement.

The findings from this study suggest that the socio-cultural context impacts women's career advancement in different ways. First, despite the considerable support received by women in relation to their career advancement (chapter 9) and the relatively few work-family conflicts experienced (chapter 10), stereotypical beliefs with regard to gender roles constituted hidden constraints to women's career progression. This is contrary to the teaching of the noble Qur'an which clearly confirms that women are completely equal to men for Allah in terms of their rights, responsibilities and in receiving rewards for their deeds (Badawi, 1995; Shabana, 2007). (Chapter 2) Societal perceptions of women as homemakers and caregivers in relation to family members (Chapter 5) were found as consistently supporting the findings of Moorosi (2000). According to her "women are traditionally associated with private, dependant and domestic activities as compared to men whose activities are public and autonomous" (p.7) despite the many examples which indicated that Muslim women participated in all walks of life from as early as the seventh century (Haleem, 2007; Rafiabidi, 2007; Rasool, 1977).

Aston et al. (2007) in a qualitative study of 40 Pakistani and 20 Bangladeshi women living in major cities across the United Kingdom also established that women's views concerning family, marriage and children shaped their attitudes towards education and employment.

In the current study, a few of the participants (14.5%) reported incompatibility between work and family and there were times when they had to prioritize family over work. Sometimes they were stressed and suffered fatigue and anxiety because of these dual responsibilities.

In general, the research findings reflect that in terms of social support Pakistani society encourages women's participation in the workforce and negative attitudes towards them working outside the home are no longer as strong as previously, although the number of women in management positions (see chapter 4) and participants' perceptions suggest that stereotypes about the types of career suitable for Pakistani women limit their careers with respect to certain jobs (Catalysts, 2005). Gender-role stereotypes and attitudes towards women's career selection did influence women's own career choices leading many to choose teaching over management positions. The reality of women's roles made women less comfortable with management positions. This is consistent with the previous research which showed that cultural and social attitudes towards what constitutes appropriate male or female jobs created occupational segregation and emerged as one of the constraints to career progression (Coleman, 2011).

The lack of spousal support was associated with social norms. Some of the married participants were confronted with traditional marital roles within the home as their husbands were against them having a job and did not support them with their domestic responsibilities. In addition to a full-time management workload they were solely responsible for the majority of domestic chores. This supports the finding of Moorosi (2000:7) who noted how an ingrained patriarchal perspective which maintains that "a woman's place is in the home" has contributed to the exclusion of women from senior managerial positions. It was also felt that when Pakistan men did undertake domestic work this was not appreciated even by the women.

12.3.2 Organizational constraints

The research highlighted organizational factors which contributed to the underrepresentation of women in senior management positions and provided detail about some of these constraints. Existing research undertaken in Pakistan (Jadoon, 2000), South Africa (Greyvenstein, 2000) and Australia (Metz and Tharenou, 2001) has already indicated the importance of organizational constraints in impeding women's career progression.

Despite the fact that in many ways women have a prominent place in Pakistani society and are highly valued in their homes, those working in universities face challenges in relation to their gender. They faced gender intolerance, bias and stereotyping. Previous research in Western (Fiske and Lee, 2008; Van and Haslam, 2005; Sargent, 2005; Harris and Giuffre, 2010; Watts, 2009) and Pakistani contexts (Jadoon, 2000) has also shown that there is discrimination and bias against women. This presented considerable challenges for women in a male-dominated field and was sometimes overt and sometimes covert. Similarly, Bobbitt-Zeher (2011) at Ohio State University at Marion USA analysed 219 different cases of sex discrimination in employment filed with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission between 1988 and 2003 and found that gender discrimination and stereotyping occurred in all occupations, irrespective of gender distribution ratios. The participants in the study also struggled hard to compete and prove that they were capable of handling senior management responsibilities.

The majority of the women in the current research perceived organizational practices as being unfair with regard to their career advancement limiting their access to career development opportunities. They did not believe that the selection and promotion procedures were fair to women. Some highly competent women were ignored in short listing processes when they applied for senior positions. Moorosi (2010) verified that transparent selection criteria play a crucial role in advancing women's chances to be appointed to management positions. She also suggested that women are underprivileged in societies where this power is associated with male stereotypes held by selection panels. They act as gate keepers blocking many women's entry to top positions. Jogulu and Wood (2011) administered a survey to female and male managers in two diverse countries Malaysia and in Australia and arrived at similar findings indicating that the disparity in career advancement of women was due to the attitudes of more senior male colleagues who

often made decisions in an organization, such as those relating to recruitment, selection, strategic planning and promotion outcomes, rather than there being any differences in ability between male and female managers.

The participants in the current study also experienced difficulties in accessing organizational academic associations where males predominated reflecting the findings of Tharenou (2005). This disadvantaged them when appointments were made using these networks rather than via impartial selection procedures. The findings from this research are similar to those of previous research, for example, Ibarra et al. (2010), Coe (1992), Cockburn (1991), Maddock and Parkin (1994), and Vinnicombe and Singh (2003) which also identified cultural barriers associated with exclusive networks as well as prejudicial and negative attitudes towards women's career progression.

Another issue reported by the participants was that university appointments were sanctioned by influential political parties. Although, the Government of Pakistan was appreciated for developing some initiatives towards women's empowerment, the participants found it quite difficult to establish their career in competition with men particularly when the men were affiliated with particular and dominant political parties. While senior management positions are normally decided by appointing authorities, they also depend on political endorsement of a candidate (see chapter 7) (Liu et al., 2010) argued that "...highly structured work environments, characterized by clear hierarchies and rigid rules, represent situations that allow little room for personal gain through political behaviour" (p. 1436). However, work environments in Pakistan lack such rigid rules and regulations. Junaidi (2012) suggested that "political interference in universities' affairs has become routine".

The data showed that biased organizational practices and political influence negatively affected women seeking to gain management positions indicating that universities were not taking seriously the GOP's positive steps towards women's empowerment. Organizational obstacles left the women feeling disappointed and feeling discouraged.

As discussed in Chapters 5 to 11, all of the women participating in this research were subject to some form of organizational bias regardless of whether they were in a junior or senior position or working in mixed or women's only universities. Although women only

universities are supposed to offer the potential for embracing and advocating opportunities for all women, there was little reported difference in the constraints experienced. Assumptions about the role of women only universities and expectations of there being a more supportive environment in them did not support the lived experiences of the women interviewed. The pressing question raised by this research is that generally women look to women's universities as a conducive place for professional growth and career success, but in fact women only universities seem to allow and practice discriminatory practices as much as mixed universities.

12.3.3 Queen Bee Syndrome

The research revealed that most of the participants experienced what has been described as Queen Bee Syndrome. This is a form of discrimination practised by highly successful women who discriminate against women using their power within an organization to discourage and attempt to prevent other women from progressing (Staines et al., 1974). In the current research, some women in senior management positions had not supported their colleagues and subordinates and were actively blocking their career advancement. Most of the participants who had achieved senior positions or were aspiring to them were not supported by their female bosses and senior colleagues. This supports much existing research suggesting that some women have the tendency to hinder promotional opportunities of other women and undermine competing colleagues. There is considerable evidence of Queen Bee Syndrome, although some researchers have questioned its existence (Morley and Walsh 1996; Gray, 2013). A survey undertaken in 2011 of 1,000 working women by the American Management Association found that 95 percent of women believed that their careers had been undermined by another woman at some point.

The findings might also be disappointing for those, for example, Coleman (2010), Morley (2012), Olson (2012), Brown and Ryan (2004) who emphasized that successful women should provide guidance, perspective, support, and ideas for aspirant women and focus on developing them and helping them to advance to leadership positions in higher education. In the current research Queen Bee syndrome led to some participants being more comfortable working for men than for other women. Hull (2010) in a survey of in the region of 3,000 men and women found that two-thirds of women said that they preferred a male boss because their professional attitude made them easier to deal with than women.

The research found detrimental evidence of the negative role models provided by Queen Bees. The examples they set and the kind of role they represented, posed a threat to the career ambitions of other women in management positions. The results of the current study support the findings of a previous study by Nauta et al. (1998) who found that poor role models acted to de-motivate women to aspire to high level management careers. This may lead women to prefer academic rather than managerial positions. Despite this, not all of the women in the study in powerful positions were unsupportive and not all of the men were supportive. A total of 27.1 percent of participants received career advice and support and were inspired by their female seniors (see Chapter 9), but these were not in the majority. The findings suggest that in Pakistan there is evidence of Queen Bee Syndrome but that it does not apply to all of the women in senior management positions.

12.3.4 Personal constraints

The problem of women's under-representation in senior management was not perceived to be merely due to socio-cultural constraints, organizational constraints or Queen Bee Syndrome. The research suggested that personal factors were implicated in the lack of women in senior management positions including those relating to personality characteristics and the professional attitudes of women themselves. Howard and Tibballs, (2002) and Moreau et al. (2005) also suggest that some of the responsibility for the lack of representation of women in senior positions is because of the characteristics of the women themselves. The current research found several factors related to the women themselves which acted as constraints. Typically, these were low self-confidence and lack of motivation. Tinklin et al. (2005) Hakim (2002) and Luck (2005) argue that these are related to gender role stereotyping where women are perceived as less able to manage. These views and the challenges and disappointments faced are likely to have an impact on self-confidence and motivation. This reflects the findings of a study by Europe's Institute of Leadership and Management (2011) which revealed that women report having lower confidence with regard to their careers than males. About half of the women managers in the study admitted to feelings of self-doubt about their performance and career. This lack of confidence extended to a more cautious approach to applying for jobs and promotions.

In the current research, for the majority (68.7%) of the women ignorance of legal rights in organizations remained a potential source of constraint which had adversely affected their career progress. The literature suggests that women of early period of Islam knew their

rights and responsibilities (Hassan, 2004) and even challenged the great scholars of their time if they believed something which was in contradiction of their rights granted to them by the Quran and the Sunna (Badawi, 1971; Ahmad, 2003). A few of the participants did offer challenge in such situations but this was rare. Most were unaware of their legal rights and appeals procedures. In some cases, despite the fact that they knew the rules and regulations, the women did not demonstrate assertive behaviour in situations when it was required. They may have been afraid that if they had taken action to claim their rights, this would annoy the authorities. This also reflected their lack of confidence in their own abilities marginalising them.

Some participants could not cope with the challenge of a management post and the associated workload. They decided to attain a higher position by aiming for an academic career. In some instances they lacked a clear career goal. All this reduced their desire for leadership and gaining a management position. This lack of ambition for management positions resulted in a lack of applications and related career planning. To some extent this accounted for the lack of women in the highest management positions.

12.4 What factors support women's advancement to senior management positions at familial, societal, organizational and personal levels?

The analysis reported in chapters 9, 10 and 11 revealed various examples of the major facilitative factors that had supported the career development of the study participants. Chapter 9 highlighted the importance of social support. The various aspects of social support that were acknowledged by the participants were:

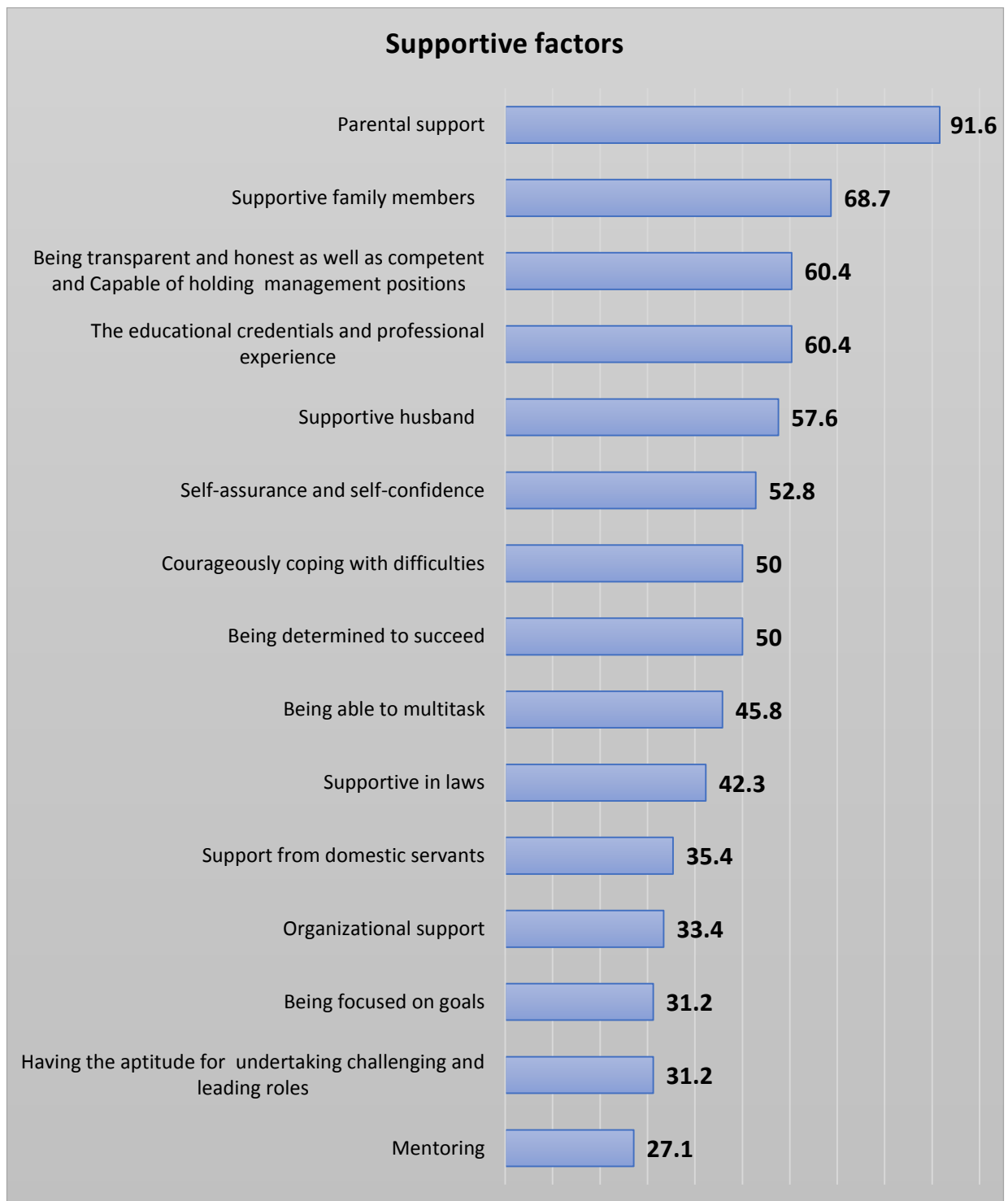
- parental support (91.6%);
- supportive family members (68.7%);
- supportive husband (57.6%);
- supportive in-laws (42.3%);
- support from domestic servants (35.4%);
- organizational support (33.4%); and
- mentoring (27.1%).

Chapter 10 reported the responses of participants about how they had managed to attain and were succeeding in maintaining senior management positions, utilizing their own personal and professional attributes. For example:

- self-assurance and self-confidence (52.86%);
- courageously coping with difficulties (50%);
- being determined to succeed (50%);
- being focused on goals (31.25%);
- being able to multitask; (45.83%);
- having the aptitude for undertaking challenging and leading roles (31.25%);
- being transparent and honest as well as competent and capable of holding management positions (60.41%); and
- the educational credentials and professional experience (60.41%).

The data in figure 12.2 sets out the percentage of women mentioning each theme within the overarching theme of factors which were supportive of their advancement to senior management positions. The most frequently mentioned themes focused on the support of the family and personal characteristics. The theme with the least support was that relating to mentoring.

Figure 12.2 Frequency of supportive factors to women’s career advancement to senior management positions



The following sections discuss the key findings relating to research question 3 in terms of the existing literature. Overall the findings support previous research which has revealed that among the most supportive factors for career development is the consistent social

support provided by the extended family (House, 1981; Broughand Pears, 2004; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). Women's specific personal and professional attributes had also facilitated them in their career advancement (Moreau et al., 2005).

12.4.1 Social support

In the current research social support was acknowledged and reported to have significantly contributed to women's' career progression, who, despite numerous challenges had been appointed to senior management positions. Due to this social support, they had acquired a good education and taken advantage of career development opportunities which would support moves to senior positions. This finding supports the findings of previous studies, for example Rab (2010), Khallad (2000), Flores and O'Brien (2002), and McLellan and KoosUys (2009) suggesting that women with strong social support are more likely to have greater career success.

The current research found remarkable parental support for the participants towards their education and career (91.6%). This might have been higher but some participants had lost their parents during childhood. Without parental support and consent a girl cannot go to school in Pakistan. None of the participants reported gender discrimination in their parents' home. It appeared that their parents followed the teaching of Islam that confirms equity and equality of both genders (Badawi, 2000; Chishti, 2003). Fathers were particularly supportive as has been revealed in previous research conducted in Pakistan (Rab, 2010). In some families, despite financial crises there was a huge effort to provide daughters with a good education. Parents were more concerned with their education than their brothers. This might explain why brothers were not interested in progressing to higher education focusing more on business. Parental support was remarkably consistent across geographical area. Women who came from rural backgrounds received the same amount of parental support as urban participants, despite the fact that parents were not always well educated. The participants were also free to make choices about their profession. These were supported by their parents.

In contrast to some previous research (e.g. Tharenou, 2001), in the majority of the cases the support from the spouse in terms of financial assistance, moral and emotional support when there were career difficulties was high. This supports the literature with regard to

the significance of the spouse's support for women's career progression (Ford et al., 2007; Kirrane and Buckley, 2004; Aycan, 2005; Poelmans, 2005).

Other family members were also significant supporters. This encouraged participants to manage their work related activities. Family members provided care and contributed to household tasks. Particularly important was the support provided by mothers-in-law. This was recognized as exceptional. They took care of children while participants were at university, contrary to the generally held notion that mothers-in-law are not always sympathetic (Rubenberg, 2001).

Organizational support was also acknowledged to some extent (33.4% particularly in terms of institutional financial support for professional development and provision of other facilities. This was counted as an important contributor to career development as also demonstrated by Ismail and Rasdi (2007). However, such financial assistance originated from the GOP not the relevant universities. While, in contrast to many developing countries (Johnson and Johnson, 2010) there were equal pay scales for male and female staff, the credit for this also goes to the GOP not universities.

Last but not least, in a few cases (27.1%) senior teachers and Heads of the Institutions were reported to be extremely helpful. They had encouraged participants to apply for higher degrees, and regardless of their gender, appeared to act as mentors and assisted them in overcoming challenges in accessing professional development further facilitating their career aspirations. Interestingly, this research supported the findings of a study by Hoigarrrd and Mathisen (2009) who found no significant differences between male mentors and female mentors among female leaders who were enrolled in a formal female mentoring project in Norway.

White (1995) also found that successful women credited open-minded bosses for giving them the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities and for having faith in their competence. According to Coleman (2011) such role models act as significant positive influences in terms of career aspiration for other women and encourage them to aspire for higher achievements.

12.4.2 Participants 'abilities and career progression

Along with other supportive factors, women's specific personal and professional attributes had also facilitated them in their career advancement, corresponding to previous research (Howard and Tibballs, 2003; Moreau et al., 2005; Coleman, 2011; Tharenou, 2005). Despite a range of constraints, the majority of the participants accepted the challenges. Many enjoyed their senior positions and were satisfied with their achievements and success.

Previous research has shown that, generally, women have negative self-perceptions and lack confidence in their abilities and experiences (Turan and Ebiclioglu, 2002; Flynn et al., 2011). In the present research 47.5 percent participants also reported lacking certain essential abilities which were necessary for being an effective manager. Despite this most of the participants (52.5%) who were self-assured and had confidence in their own abilities as well as being honest and transparent, assertive, and goal focused, had managed to rise to the top. The findings showed that when women are confident they challenge research findings which have suggested that they are mainly focused on interpersonal relationship while men are assertive and their motives centre around achievement and success (Eagly et al., 2001; Carli, 2006; Miller, 2006). The women in the current research who had achieved high management positions may have demonstrated other facets emerging from previous research showing that good managers do contribute to the welfare of others (Heilman, 2001; Koenig et al., 2011; Powell, 2011). Lumby and Cristina (2014) also suggest that 'homogenising western interpretations of doing and undoing gender are inappropriate'.

A high level of self-confidence amongst many participants encouraged them to face career challenges, particularly when working in a male dominated environment where there was gender role stereotyping, and work-related sex discrimination. This supports the findings of Martin and Barnard (2013) who found that despite the many challenges in male dominated occupations, the women in their study demonstrated high resilience that empowered them to achieve their career goals. This challenged earlier research (Frome et al., 2006; Cha, 2013; Danziger and Eden, 2007), that women who pursue their careers in male-dominated occupations often decline career opportunities (Mathur-Helm 2006).

The women who were most successful in the current research were dynamic leaders who demonstrated their abilities and handled difficult situations well. Some, in contrast, tended to avoid challenging tasks. Successful participants had an aptitude for challenging and leading roles. Their high confidence and strong commitment to their career goals meant that they did not give up when faced with difficulties. They were able to resolve situations through persuasion. Their competence, capability and honesty also shaped their suitability for leadership positions and contributed to their credibility in general which in turn supported their advancement to senior management positions. Robbins (2001) observed that some people have a compelling drive to succeed and they strive for personal achievement. Such motivation was helpful in countering the negative female stereotypes that women are not capable of holding management positions.

An important finding was that most of the participants not only had high level qualifications but also had had the opportunity to acquire a foreign degree. This has been shown to be important in earlier research (Zeytinoglu, et al., 2010).

12.5 Is work-family conflict a barrier to women's career progression in Pakistan?

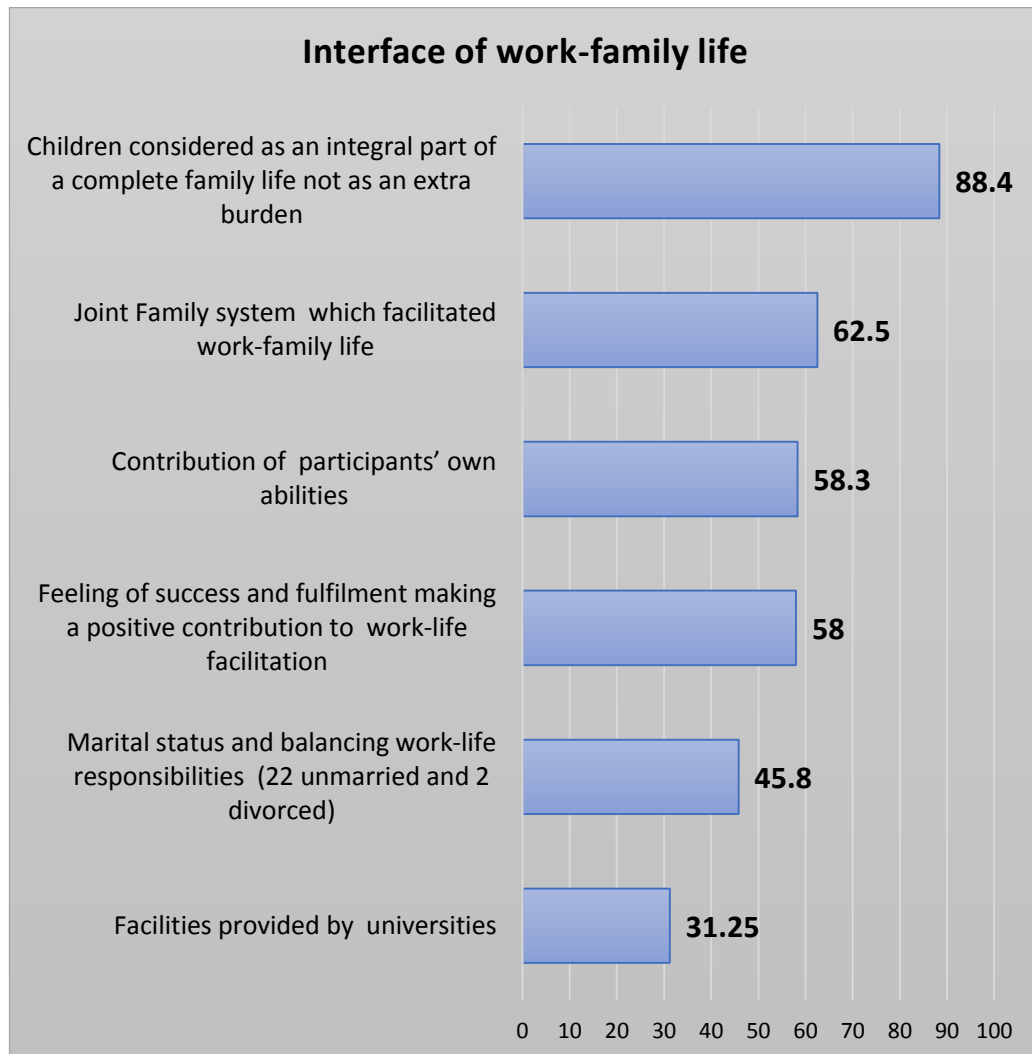
The analysis in chapter 11 provided a response to this question. It elaborated participants' experiences, their priorities, strategies, and the assistance that they received to cope with the interface of work-family life. For example:

- joint family system which facilitated work-family life (62.5%);
- children considered as an integral part of a complete family life not as an extra burden (88.4%);
- marital status and balancing work-life responsibilities (among 31% unmarried and 4% divorced) (45.8%);
- facilities provided by universities (33.4%);
- contribution of participants' own abilities (58.3%);
- feelings of success and fulfillment making a positive contribution to work-family life facilitation (58%).

Figure 12.3 sets out the percentage of women who responded to each theme relating to the different supportive factors and personal coping strategies which were concerned with the interface of work-family life. In relation to work-life balance the theme which was

referred to the most was the presence of children as an integral part of a complete family life not as a burden. The second most frequently mentioned theme was joint family systems. A higher percentage of participants also referred to their own abilities and feelings of success and fulfillment. The lowest percentages related to the facilities provided by the universities.

Figure 12.3 Frequency difference: supportive factors and personal coping strategies



The participant's reports of how they were able to manage work-life demands and had combined management at work with a fulfilling family life contrasted with much existing literature which has documented the negative impact of family responsibilities. Many authors have demonstrated that the under presentation of women in senior management positions was due to their dual responsibilities (see for example Coleman, 2002; 2011; Mostert, 2009; Harris and Giuffre, 2010; Franks et al., 2006; Mostert, 2009) resulting in

clashes with family members and a lack of work life balance (Grzywacz and Bass, 2003; Coleman, 2002; Major, et al., 2002; Yavas et al., 2008; Boyar et al., 2008; Haar, 2004).

The current research revealed that though women were the main homemakers constrained by domestic responsibilities leaving them with little time for their personal care and comfort, and despite management being demanding (chapter 5.), the work-family interface was not an issue for them. Dual responsibilities were not reported as barriers for them reaching senior management positions.

Their perceptions were at variance to a global picture of women facing work-family conflict where the greater the devotion to work, the more likely work-family conflict arises (Korabik et al, 2009; Hoobler et al., 2011; Mostert, 2008; Cinnamon, 2006; Bakker and Geurts, 2004). Instead, the findings of the current research support Carlson et al. (2006), Greenhaus and Powell, (2006), Marongiu and Ekehammar, (1999) and Storvik and Schone (2008), who have started to move the focus from these negative aspects of work family interaction to the positive impact that work can have on family roles. They unanimously suggest that work and family responsibilities are not always detrimental and that female managers do not always find difficulty in combining both work and family. The finding also support McMillan and Morris (2012) who found problem-solving coping to completely mediate the relationship between family work conflict and life satisfaction.

Overall, the participants showed no deep concerns over societal attitudes towards typical gender roles. They were satisfied with their traditional role and accepted it as normal practice as suggested by McLellan and KoosUys (2009). Having children was not associated with reduced perceptions of career success and increased difficulties in balancing work and home responsibilities as had been suggested by Kirchmeyer (2002). The findings corresponded with those of Mederer (1993) and Holahan and Gilbert (1979) who found that women's attitudes towards their home role could determine the extent to which they adopted the traditional role of wife and mother. The current findings support those of Ruderman, et al. (2002) who found that having multiple roles related to overall life satisfaction among managerial women. Valcour and Tolbert (2003) also found examples of female employees with more children and high family demands who exhibited higher levels of perceived success in their work lives.

The findings here reinforce the importance of the social support received from the spouse and other family members. In the career lives of women working in the most senior positions, facilities provided by the universities enabled them to manage organizational matters without any tension between home and work. That minimized the negative consequences of dual responsibilities (Grzywacz, 2002; Carlson et al., 2006; Frone, 2003; Hanson et al., 2006).

This supports earlier research (i.e., Aycan and Eskin, 2005; Behson, 2005; Yildirim and Aycan, 2008; Samsinar et al., 2010; Banyard and Graham-Bermann, 1993; Kossek et al., 2001; ADB, 1994; Hassan, 1995:115; Rab, 2010) that work and family social support is vital in improving work-family integration and subsequently reducing work-family conflict. Early research in Pakistan found that social support was particularly associated with positive work family balance (Malik et al., 2010). Aryee (1992) and Kim and Ling (2001) indicated the importance of husbands' support in minimizing the stress of dual responsibilities. However, this contradicts the findings of Coleman (2011) who suggested that despite the support benefiting women in the home there remained particular challenges of combining work and family life and women remained disadvantaged in the labor force for as long as the share of family care between men and women remained uneven. Noor (2002) in a sample of 310 Malaysian employed women with families found that they believed it beyond the spouse's capacity to moderate work-family stressors. However, these studies were undertaken with a broad sample of women from the general public rather than those working in senior positions in higher education. Socio-economic issues may therefore be important. The findings from the current research cannot be generalized to the general population and may only apply to highly educated women.

12.6 Summary

The current study has sought to explore the experiences of women with specific reference to the factors related to their career progression in the public sector universities of Pakistan. Overall, underrepresentation of women in senior management persists. There continue to be obstacles to rising to the most senior positions. However, the factors for this inequity to some extent appear to be changing. This research suggests that some factors facilitate career success. The women did not perceive any work/family conflict despite continuing to have major responsibility for domestic affairs. This was not seen as obstructing their career progression.

The research found that although the experiences, positions and demographic characteristics differed between senior and junior participants, and some issues were more prominent in some cases than others, there was nonetheless a large degree of consensus among and between interviewees regarding the factors that impinged upon and facilitated their career progression.

12.7 Limitations of the study

In this section, I will discuss the limitations of the study and how I addressed some of them. This includes problems inherent in qualitative research generally as well as limitations that were specific to my study. Initially, I will reflect briefly on the approaches used to interview the participants of the study and the factors which may have affected their responses.

12.7.1 Review of the methodology

The main method for data collection was in-depth interviews. This raises issues relating to the question of trust and the position of the interviewees as employees in the universities which may have affected the openness and honesty of their responses. Some of the participants were cautious about sharing information during the interviews which might have affected the findings.

Some of the junior participants (interviewees, 33, 39, 42, and 48), and one senior manager (interviewee, 17) often made minimal responses or ignored my probes on the difficulties created by their universities and issues related to their in-laws. The same issue was evident in the responses made by some about family life. Some of the participants were cautious about talking about their family environment. One participant, a junior, who had a relative also working in the university, was particularly careful, especially when discussing family constraints. Although she presented her view of family life, she was reluctant to be more open. The findings are also limited in that the participants were highly motivated to participate as they had achieved at least some measure of success within the university setting. However, the interviews overall were conducted carefully and my experience of Pakistani society and familiarity with Urdu and university culture enabled me to conduct the interviews and focus group discussion insightfully and with confidence.

The second limitation relates to the size of the sample. Overall, this is a small study, it dealt only with women working in the public sector universities in one of five Pakistani provinces. Currently in Pakistan out of a total of 156 universities/degree awarding institutions, there are 87 public sector universities/ degree awarding institutions, operating in the five provinces (HEC, 2014) out of which 22 are operating in the province of Punjab. The focus of this research study was the eight public sector universities. These represent only 9.1% of all public sector universities in Pakistan. There are 79 public sector universities where more research is required. Furthermore, the number of women only universities (2) was comparatively small in comparison with the mixed universities (6).

Some of the sample universities comprise many affiliated colleges and have diverse campuses with a large faculty and administration that runs into several thousands. There are no statistics available to indicate how many of the women in these colleges are in senior management positions. Thus, this small-scale exploratory study, based on in-depth interviews with a small number of (48) participants may not be representative of the many other women spread across other universities in Pakistan.

It is important to bear in mind that this was an exploratory study examining the factors influencing women's participation in senior management positions in higher education. Effort was made to obtain a representative sample of women from diverse groups of managerial status, in order to gain a balanced picture of their real-life experiences at organizational and familial levels. The women interviewed were from a range of departments, and were asked to provide scholarly judgment on the challenges posed by different constraints in management, and details of their personal experiences. In addition to the interviews with university employees the research also drew on the expertise of key informants working in responsible positions

The analysis was limited in terms of the balance between junior and senior managers with 30 in senior positions and only 18 in junior positions. None were in middle management positions. There was therefore an imbalance in the status of the interviewees. In addition, it was not possible to identify those who might have aspired to management positions even at the junior level who had not attained them.

In addition to their own lived experiences, some of the participants also expressed their opinions about other women working in their universities. They shared their observations about the attitudes of their colleagues. The key informants did the same. In some cases, they assumed such attitudes to constrain career advancement of women in general. Although such opinions are valuable, they are limited to personal experiences and observations.

The study focused on issues faced by women in public sector universities only. It did not address the issues or engage fully with the situation of women working in the private universities.

The research also focused on the familial, societal, organizational and personal factors affecting women's career. Other potential factors suggested in the literature i.e. leadership style, leadership behavior were not examined.

12.7.2 Generalisation

Care must be taken when attempting to generalise the findings from the study. The participants may not necessarily be representative of all women working in universities and their views are limited to their own experiences. They are also highly educated women. The findings emerging here may not apply to other areas of employment in Pakistan and less well educated women.

12.8 Contribution of the research

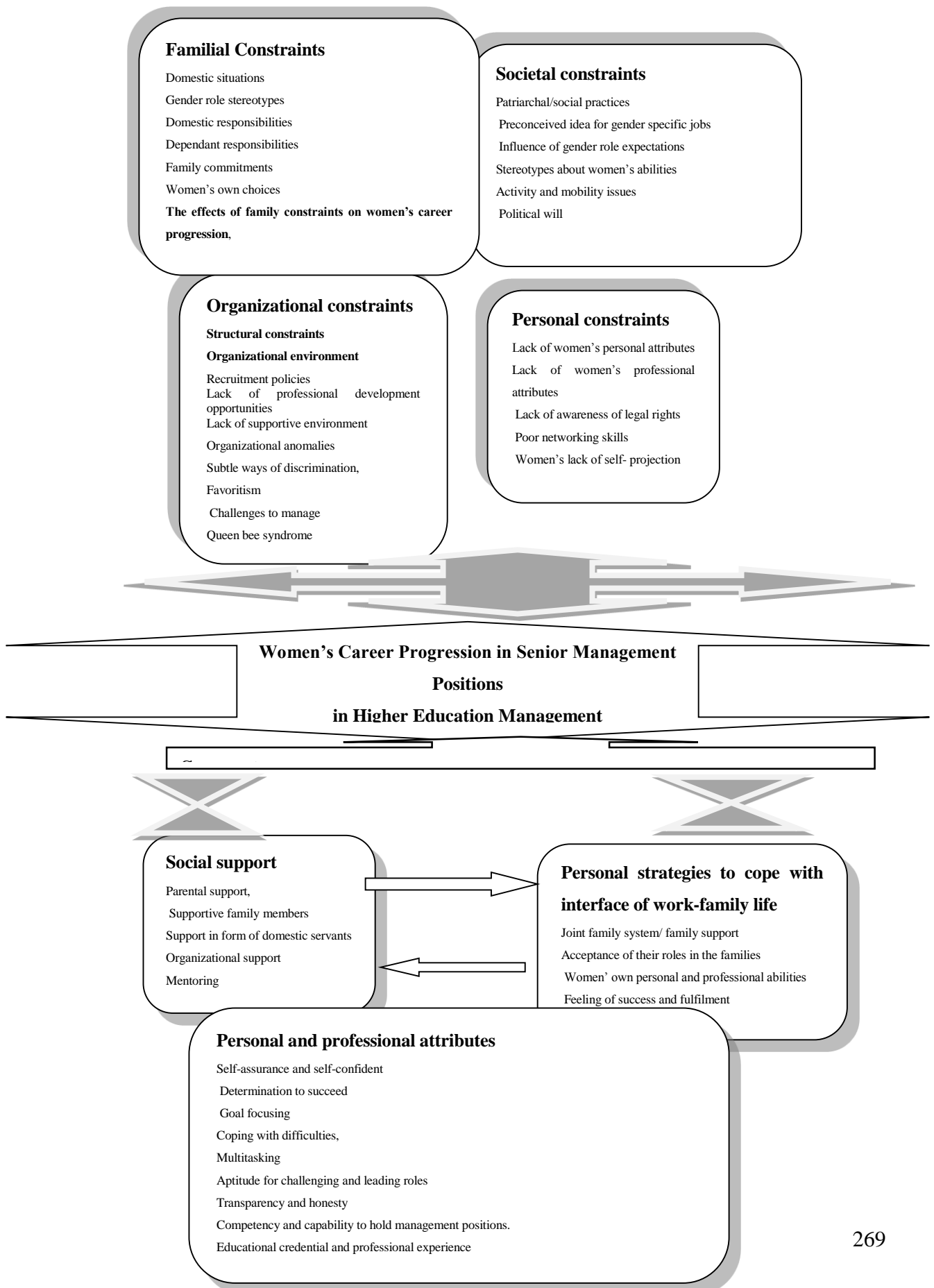
With reference to the literature on theoretical perspectives (see chapter 2 for details), no previous research or existing theoretical model has provided a comprehensive framework for explaining all of the related factors influencing women's career advancement. The Gender-Organisation-System (Fagenson, 1990) model incorporates systemic/societal aspects along with personal and organizational dimensions, whereas the management route model (Van Eck et al., 1996) identifies three phases that determine the career route to senior management i.e. professional development phase, access and entry into management positions phase and performance phase. These two models comprise general variables and lack sufficient detail to explain the factors affecting highly educated women in higher education management. However, Spillover Theory (Zedeck, 1992), although it does not directly deal with women's career progression in management, does indicate that anything positive (social support) or negative (work-family conflict) might have

some impact on working women. This can also be used to build a theoretical foundation for the present research.

None of the three approaches alone can provide a comprehensive framework of the factors involved in the career advancement of women working in higher education in Pakistan. The factors within the socio-cultural and systemic context in which Pakistani women advance their careers is dissimilar from that of women in western countries in which most of the research using the above approaches has been undertaken. To understand the factors influencing women's careers in management positions in an Islamic and developing country like Pakistan, it was important that factors involving women's career progression be thoroughly studied. There was a need to develop a model that could take account of all the factors. Recognizing this need, a model has been developed which sets out a hierarchy of culture-specific factors to promote understanding of what supports and hinders women's career progression in senior management positions in cultures similar to those in Pakistan. The model integrates elements of the three above mentioned approaches.

The proposed model includes many sub-factors and highlights the complexity and interactions that ultimately determine the status of women in higher education management in Pakistan. Four broad themes (Familial, Societal, Organizational and Personal) are used from the above mentioned models to organize, collate and consolidate the variables identified as the most critical in the recent literature as well as from the findings of the current study (See Figure 12.4).

Figure 12.4 An ‘Indigenous Theoretical Model’ of women’s career progression in senior management positions in higher education in Pakistan



The present study both confirms previous findings and contributes additional evidence for the influence of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors on the career progression of women in senior management in general and higher education management in particular in a developing Islamic culture, i.e. Pakistan. This empirical research adds to the limited research on women in senior management positions in higher education management in Pakistan.

Although, the existing literature has shed light on the underrepresentation of women in senior management positions, the majority of empirical studies (for example, Moorosi, 2010; Blackmore et al., 2006; Capasso and Daresh, 2001; Talerico, 2000; Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Moorosi, 2007; Mestry and Singh, 2007.; Chisholm, 2001; Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Coleman, 2005; McLennan, 2000; Bush and Jackson, 2002; Mathibe, 2007; Tekleselassie, 2002; Moorosi, 2006) addressing women's career progression have only explored the constraints to career success, although there are a few exceptions (for example Coleman, 2011; Rab, 2010; Gupto and Slick, 1996). Coleman (2011) suggests that "in addressing the situation of women in top jobs, it is necessary to consider both the possible barriers to career progress for women and factors that have helped their career success" (p.12). The research reported here aimed to explore both constraints and supportive factors simultaneously. The data collected forms a basis for understanding the different factors which exist within families, and universities, and which women themselves contribute as well as the pressures that result from social practices in the wider cultural and social setting. The findings presented here offer a new framework for understanding the factors influencing women's career development in management positions with particular reference to the absence of work family conflict.

Further, the current research fills a significant knowledge gap relating to the factors involved in women's career progression in a developing rather than a developed context. Most of the earlier research was conducted in developed countries, relatively little research has been conducted in Asian countries (ILO, 2010). In the Pakistani context, in particular, the research base is very limited. A few qualitative studies on higher education exist, for example, Rab (2010) narrated the life stories of successful women academics in Pakistani universities, while Shah and Shah (2012) revealed the repercussions of multiple societal norms embedded in Pakistani society for women college heads and Jabeen (1999) explored the factors affecting the career advancement of women in the federal civil

service of Pakistan. Research on women in senior and junior management positions in universities in Pakistan has not previously been undertaken.

The research also adds to our understanding of the interface between work and home for well-educated women working in higher education. Previous research on the interface between work and home has tended to be quantitative and cross-sectional. 94% of studies have been based on survey data and most work-family studies do not go beyond quantitative measures of work-family pressure (Poelmans, 2005). The underlying motivations, values or choices of participants can only be assessed in a limited fashion quantitatively (Ibid). Greenhaus and Powell (2006) recommend that the present status of research pertaining to work-family and women's underrepresentation (Lumby, 2011) calls for a variety of new methodologies and the development of new measures. In an effort to further this endeavour, this study employed in depth interviews to explore women's' perceptions. In addition, most of the studies concerned with work-life issues focused on either gender or health. Thus the main contribution to the methodology adopted here was that it qualitatively examined work-life issues in relation to their impact on women's career progression in higher education. Qualitatively exploring work-life issues makes this study unusual.

12.9 Significance of the findings in the local context

This is the first study of this nature conducted in Pakistan focussing on the effects of various factors on women career progression in senior management position particularly in Higher Education Management.

As the research shows, most of the women participating in the study were successful in their careers. Most had high level qualifications and high management status. The question might arise, therefore, as to why the experiences of these comparatively privileged women are worth studying. Is it really necessary to research senior women's experiences when they are already working in universities in management positions? To recap, firstly, the women represent a small proportion of those in senior management positions, while the graduating rate of women in Pakistan is only a little behind men. It is vital, therefore, to raise awareness of the underrepresentation of women in management positions in higher education particularly as they occupy such a significant proportion of those with graduate qualifications.

Although women have entered the portals of higher education via government initiatives, their situation in senior management positions is more complex than appearances suggest and requires further exploration and analysis. Moorosi (2010) suggests that the under-representation of women in management positions is a problem even for women who have attained these positions.

12.10 Implications of the Research

In this section I will discuss the policy implications of the research, identify issues that might inform further research and offer recommendations on what public institutions might do to improve current organizational and societal practices with regard to women's career progression in senior management positions in higher education in Pakistan.

Recognizing the present scenario of women's employment in Pakistan (chapter 1) and specifically their small share in senior management positions (chapters 2 and 4) this research was important to support policy decisions and strategies adopted to enhance women's positions in senior management positions in the universities of Pakistan.

In the cultural specific context of Pakistan, this research explored how familial, societal, organizational and personal constraints acted to restrict women's way to the top management positions and how family, society, organizations and individual factors positively operate to support women's career progression within their families and universities in a patriarchal society.

The current situation for women is much improved on previous years. The current government has promised to set up more women only universities, but this may not be workable. The majority of women working in Pakistani universities continue to receive unequal treatment because of inequitable organizational hierarchies, even in women only universities, (see chapter 7) where one might expect more supportive organizational practices to predominate. There has been insignificant effort towards equal opportunities offering all women career development in all Public universities. The dominance of men and the existence of favouritism constrains the opportunities available to women regarding career development and career progression.

Generally, there has not been fair implementation of public policies and disbursement of funds by some universities (chapter 7). Those involved in administration and management pay no attention to the vision and mission of GOP and discriminate against women. Such irregularities in the university system cannot be eradicated by policies alone.

The findings reported here question the effectiveness of universities in promoting the career progress of women especially in light of the existence of current policies and the availability of funds provided by the GOP and HEC. The following strategic adjustments need to be made to public policy. First, the primary objective should be to address the empowerment of women, and to implement measures to protect their educational rights and fulfil their career needs. Second, unless the Pakistani government develops suitable methods for monitoring the allocation of professional development budgets, it will never be possible to achieve equivalent positions for women in senior management positions.

The findings of this study have additional implications for future practice. They suggest further avenues for the analysis of the factors affecting women's progression to senior management positions, especially concerning internal biases that exist within the universities. Policy makers should look with some urgency into the matter of which women benefit from the public policies and funds.

The constitution of Pakistan (1973) is based on a commitment to equality (Chapter 1), however, some disparities continue as a result of political interference in the universities. An influential political system continues to hinder a system based on merit, which affects public policies for women's empowerment in general and women's selection for senior positions (as mentioned earlier in chapter 7) in particular. Accordingly, the evidence obtained in this research calls for more attention to be paid to favouritism that is exercised on political grounds.

Some participants in junior level management positions feared that their capacity to access opportunity to career development might be restricted as a consequence of the favouritism prevailing in universities and have consistently demanded what they describe as a more transparent and neutral system. It is therefore argued that opportunities should be made available for women in Pakistan via open competition and on a non-political basis thus recruiting those who have high level qualifications and experience.

In line with HEC's objectives discussed in chapter 1 (HEC, 2010), the study also has practical value, as it will provide the Higher Education Commission with information to raise awareness about the critical issues relevant to women in management. It may also provide insight for HEC into the important construct of political involvement and biased selection processes and its potential to interfere with women's top roles in management. It can be the means of formulating new public policies on the status of women and putting in place strategies and measures to provide them with transparent organizational support to promote the career advancement of women in senior management.

As stereotypes and traditional attitudes towards women are found to be amongst the main constraints that obstruct their way to senior management positions these societal constraints create gender divisions in practice which perpetuate occupational segregation. Ignorance of women's equal rights makes people reluctant to accept women's management roles. Without a positive change of attitudes and social mind-sets, a significant increase in women's status will not occur. The government alone cannot resolve the problem of women's empowerment. A key task for the Pakistani government is to raise awareness of women's rights within Islam and implement more stringent laws to ensure women's rights at the societal level rather than emphasizing women's empowerment alone.

The educational, mass media, home and school environments transmit gendered attitudes towards the roles of girls and boys and engender negative self-perceptions in girls that could impede their personal development (Turan and Ebiclioglu, 2002). To tackle this constraint extended efforts are required in all forums to transform these attitudes and to overcome traditional stereotypes and lessen the division of male and female. The fundamental need under National Education Policies, must be to make the Quranic principles and true Islamic practices (see chapter 2) a vital part of the national curriculum so that the message of the Holy Quran and Hadith for woman's equal rights and position in Islam can be disseminated in the process of education and training.

In line with the international agenda in minimizing gender imbalances the government of Pakistan has a need for data and research. The current study has identified the obstacles and inequalities that hinder women's participation in senior management in higher education and provides concrete evidence concerning the consequences of unequal

organizational practices at both women only and mixed universities. Keeping in view the absence of women vice-chancellors in mixed universities, and the dearth of women in most senior management positions, it is increasingly recognized that Pakistani Universities need to move to a position with regard to public initiatives to provide equal management opportunities to equally qualified men and women.

The shortage of executive women is a global issue (Catalyst, 2013) and in this study most of the sample universities are members of the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU, 2014). The ACU has established a number of professional networks in key functional areas, for example, human resource management. "These networks allow members to share knowledge and good practice and provide for debate and discussion on key policies and to ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment" (ACU, 2010). Senior women's perceptions of the difficulties and support they have received and the strategies they have proposed for improving this situation, hopefully, will enable these insights to be brought to a wider audience and influence change. Such knowledge can enhance the management of women's human resources and their careers globally. This might emerge as a strong strategy for policy makers for countering the issue of the dearth of women in senior management positions.

Since there are no statistics available about the gender breakdown of management staff serving in different sectors of education and in different provinces/region (see literature review) this research highly recommends that the National Education Management Information System, the Academy of Educational Planning and Management, the Ministry of Education, and the Government of Pakistan undertake research to establish the gender based distribution of management positions in Pakistani universities. Such statistics would present the true picture of women in senior management positions. Morley (2013) advocates for the compilation of statistics about women's top positions that will highlight the barriers which have been placed in the way of those women who have achieved top positions as well as the constraints to the access of many women to this point.

One approach to foregrounding and tackling this issue would be to extend this study's in-depth analysis to other provincial public sector universities and well known private universities in Pakistan. More research is required to determine how best to promote

women's access to senior management positions such that adequate provision is made for women to access and participate in senior management positions across Pakistan.

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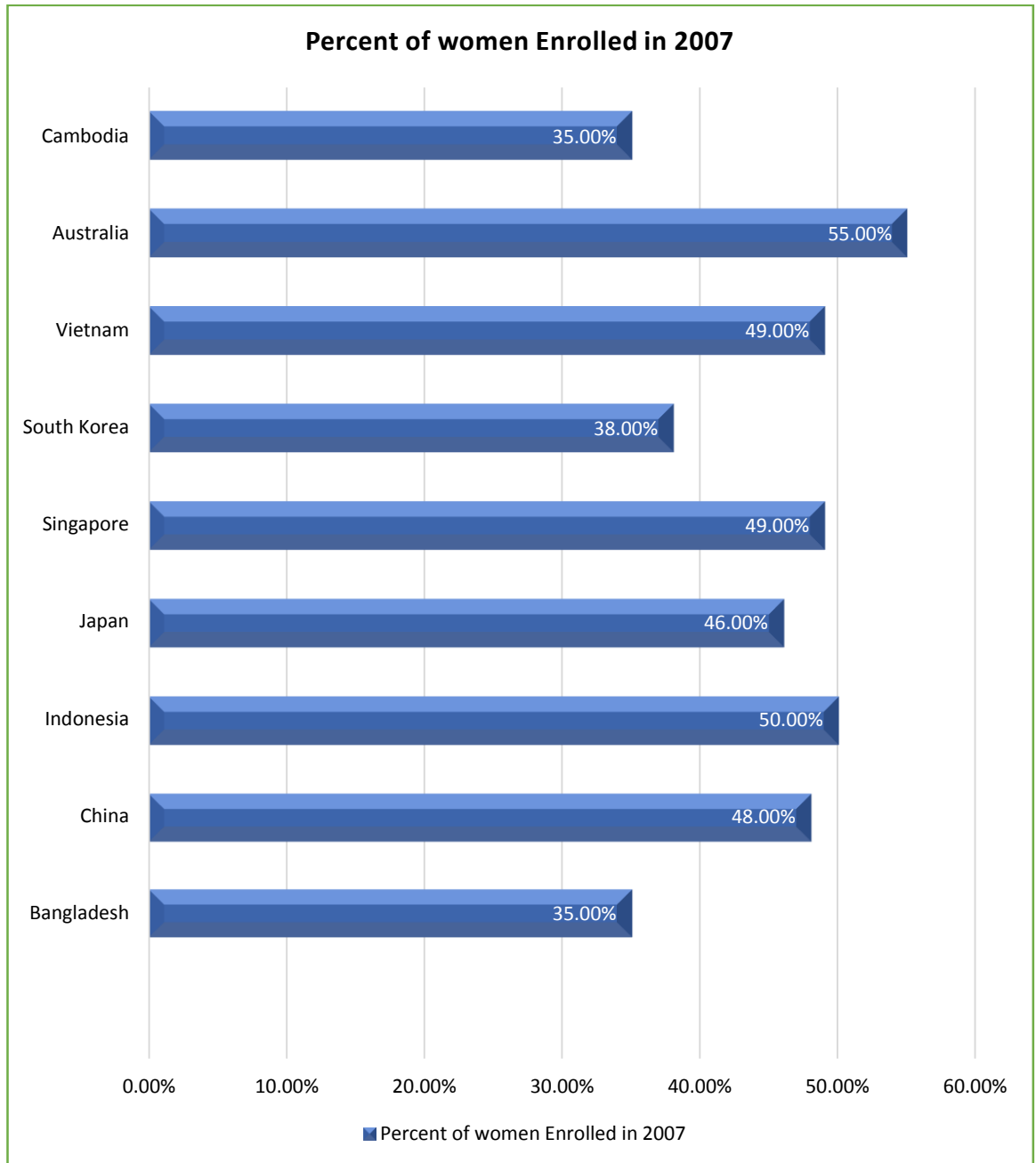
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Appendices

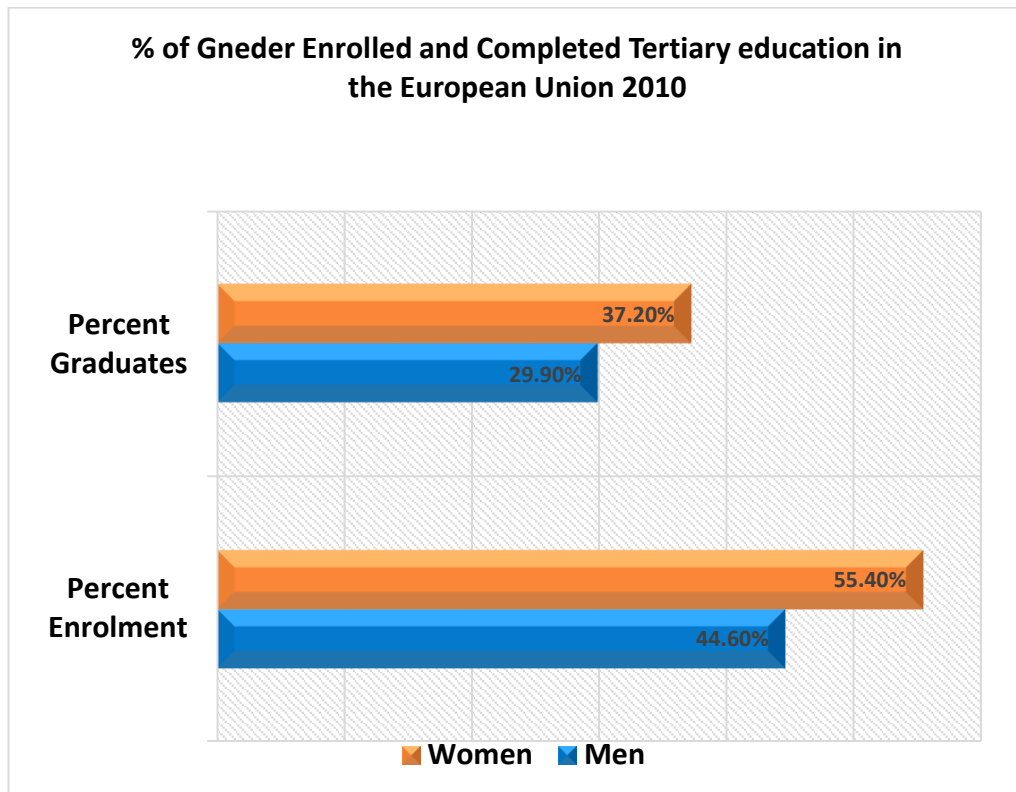
Appendix 1 A: Percentage of women enrolled in tertiary education

Percentage of women Enrolled in Tertiary education in 2007: Asia-Pacific



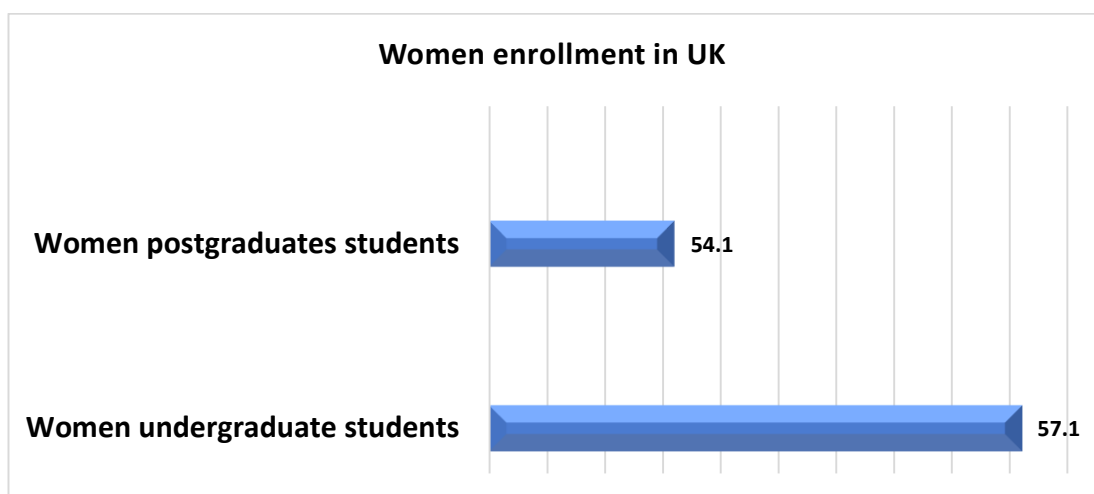
Source: The Chronicle of Higher Education, "Enrollment in Higher-Education Institutions by Selected Countries in 2007," (2010).

Percentage of women enrolled in tertiary education in 2010: European Union



Source: Eurostat, "Share of Women among Tertiary Students," (2011) and Eurostat, "Tertiary educational attainment by sex, age group 30-34: 2010," (2012).

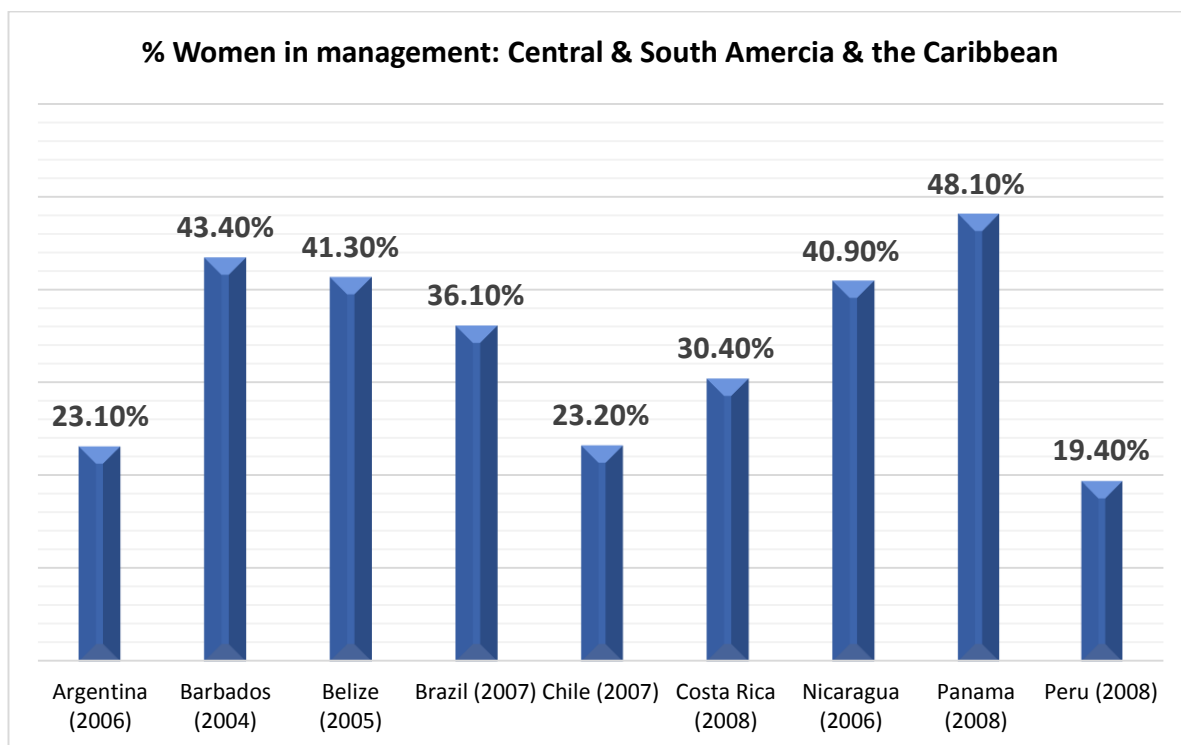
Percentage of women enrolled in tertiary education in 2010-2011: United Kingdom



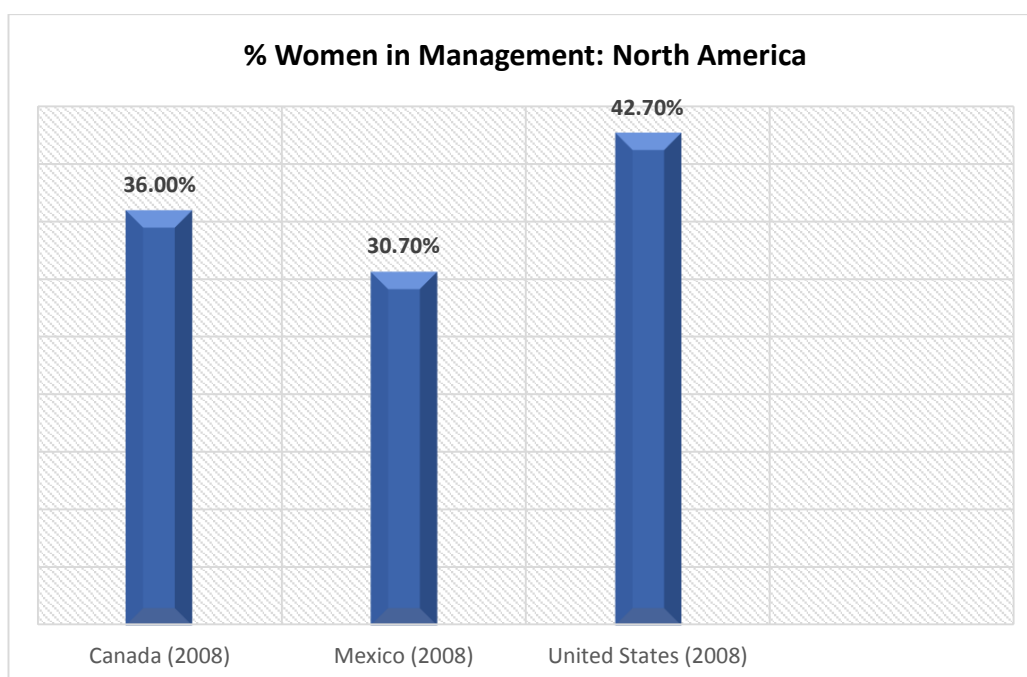
Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency, "Students and Qualifies at UK HE Institutions" (2010/2011)

Appendix 1 B. Percentage of women in management all over the world: a general perspective

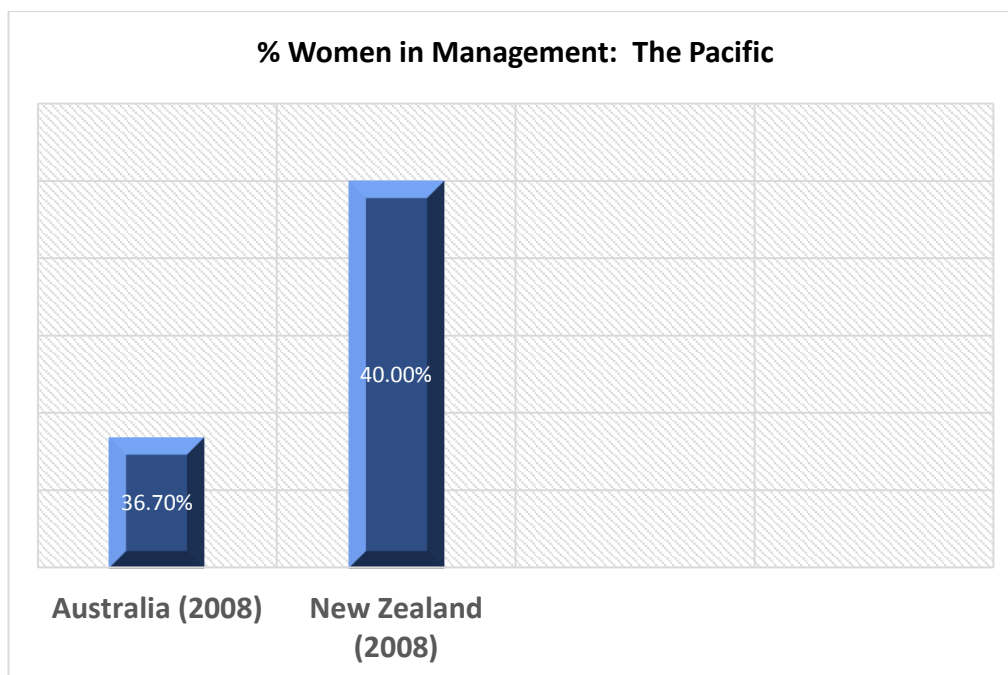
Percentage of women in management: Central & South America & the Caribbean



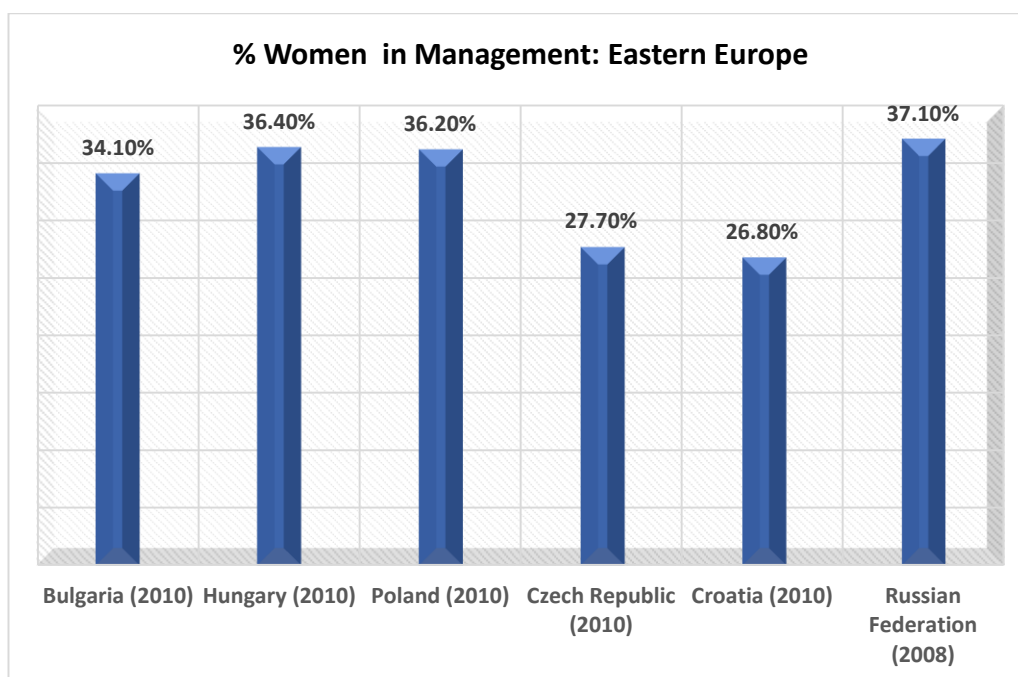
Percentage of women in management: North America



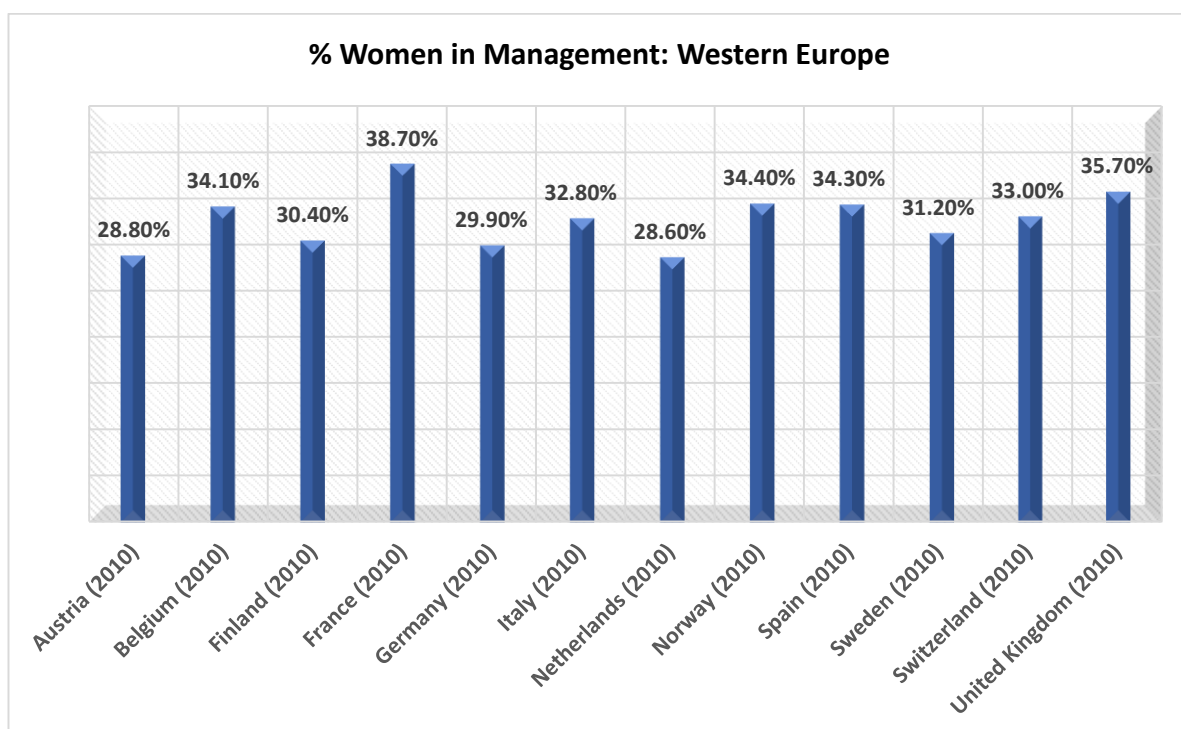
Percentage of women in management: The Pacific



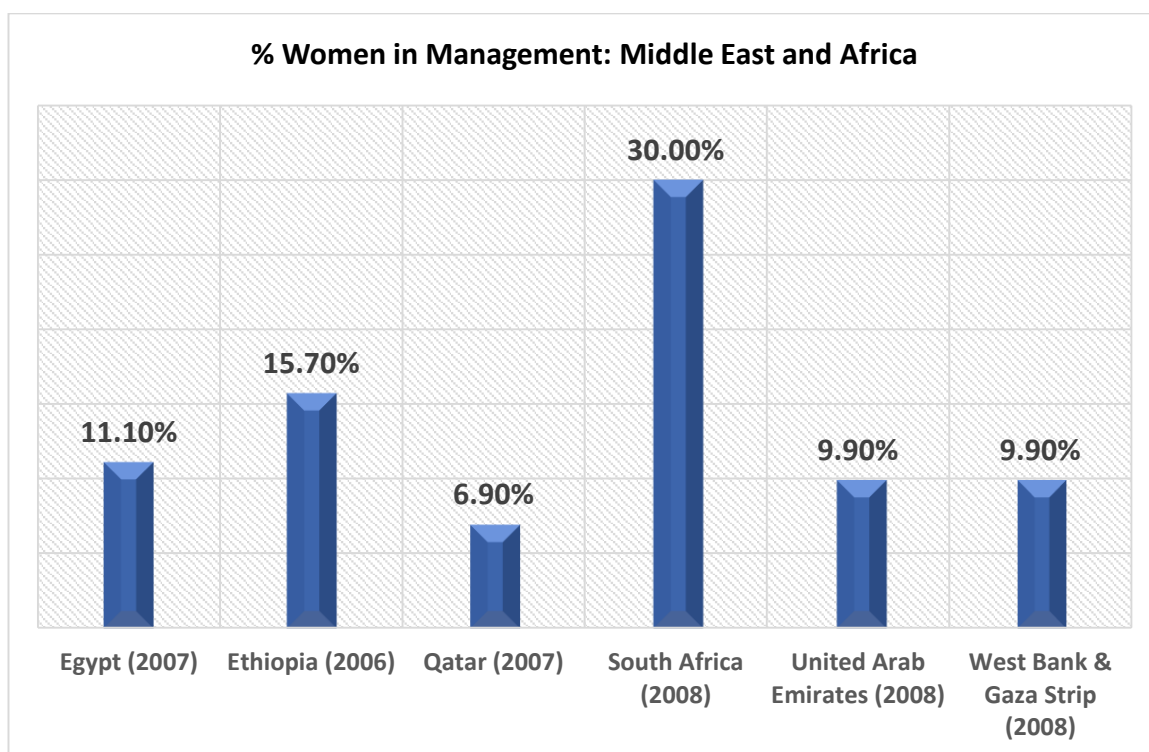
Percentage of women in management: Eastern Europe



Percentage of women in management: Western Europe



Percentage of Women in Management: Middle East and Africa



Appendix-1.C Extract from the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan'

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Article:

25. Equality of citizens.

- (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.
- (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex
- (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

27. Safeguard against discrimination in services.

- (1) No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.

PART II

Fundamental Rights and Principles of Policy

34.Full participation of women in national life.

Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

35.Protection of family, etc.

The State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

37.Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils.

The State shall:

- (a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;
- (b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;
- (c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit;
- (d) ensure inexpensive and expeditious justice;
- (e) make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;

- (f) enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan;
- (g) prevent prostitution, gambling and taking of injurious drugs, printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements;
- (h) prevent the consumption of alcoholic liquor otherwise than for medicinal and, in the case of non-Muslims, religious purposes; and
- (i) decentralise the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public.

Source: GOP <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch2.h>

Appendix 2.A: Women Universities/Degree Awarding Institutes in Pakistan

Serial No.	Universities/Degree Awarding Institutes in Pakistan	Sector
1	Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi	Public
2	Frontier Women University, Peshawar	Public
3	Government College for Women University, Faisalabad	Public
4	Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore	Public
5	Lahore College for Women University, Lahore	Public
6	Peoples University of Medical and Health Sciences for Women, Nawabshah (Shaheed Benazirabad)	Public
7	Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University, Quetta	Public
8	Women University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Bagh	Public
9	Jinnah University for Women, Karachi	Private

Source: HEC, 2014.

Appendix 3.A. An explanatory letter to the sample universities to get the gender based distribution of university management

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Bushra Inayat and I am a doctoral student at the Institute of Education University of London. The title of my research is "INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND FAMILY FACTORS ON WOMEN'S CAREER ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR MANAGERIAL POSITIONS IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF PAKISTAN"

I need your kind cooperation for data collection for my research. The target group is women in university management, married, single, with/without children working as Gazetted Officers in cadre BPS-17 and above. This comprises Chairmen, Deans, Directors, Heads of Departments, Controller of Examination, Registrar, Treasurer, and representatives of other management units of Universities.

Provided that the **gender based distribution of university management of all public sectors universities of Pakistan, currently working in grade 17 to 22**, is required.

Your good office is requested to please provide with "Male and Female Ratio" of your concerned university. (For which, I am attaching the format for the convenience)

I hope your kind support and cooperation in this regard. I would be much grateful for this favor.

Please contact me at binayat@ioe.ac.uk or bushra_edu@hotmail.com, if you have any queries. (UK Mobile# 07424256821)

Thanking in anticipation

Kind Regards

Bushra Inayat

Appendix 3.B: Pay Scale Systems and classification of officials in Pakistan

As far basic pay structure is concerned, there are some other Pay Scale Systems in Pakistan Special Pay Scales (SPS) and army Scales are examples of other pay systems in Pakistan. SPS are implemented in some federal government departments of Pakistan SPS is a different pay scale system than BPS. Mainly, this type of pay scales is applied in strategic, defense and research organizations e.g. PAEC (Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission), KRL (Kahuta Research Laboratories), SUPARCO, NESCOM etc.

While private organizations/companies/industries are free to make their own pay structures while Government fixes a minimum salary of any private employee. Federal Government and provincial governments have their separate pay systems closely similar to each other (GOP, Finance Division, 2011). However, BPS is widely used pay scale system in Pakistan. Most of the Government departments and organizations follow BPS System. BPS scales are regularly revised after every few years. Previously these were revised in 2011. Civil servants are also entitled various other allowances (as per their department/organization rules and their service terms) along with their basic pay, as a part of their Gross Pay. These allowances may include Ad hoc Relief Allowance, Medical Allowance, Special Pay, Conveyance Allowance, House Rent allowance and several other miscellaneous allowances, which are applicable (GOP, Finance Division, 2011).

As far as division of grade is concerned, normally services for officials are classified into four categories. They include following:-

Grade	Nature of job
Apex Scales	Distinguished National Officials
Grade-17 to Grade-22	Gazetted Officers / Commissioned Officers
Grade-10 to Grade-16	Non Gazzated Officers / Junior Officers
Grade-5 to Grade-9	Lower Grade Officials / Field Work Supervisors
Grade 1 to grade 4	Labour workers

Source: GOP, Finance Division, 2011

Appendix 3C

Pre-interview questionnaire completed by each participant to collect socio-demographic information:

Socio-Demographic information

This category will contain respondent information, such as age, marital status, professional experience, position in the university, description of the family and location where they live and work and detail of Family responsibilities.

Name-----**Age**-----

Marital status and type: married-----Single-----Divorced-----

Dual-earner ----- Single-earner -----

Spouse work status-----

Description of the family

Number of Family members -----Number of children -----

Age of children-----Other family members-----

Dependant elderly relatives-----

Family responsibilities -----

Work-related background characteristics:

Qualification/Education -----

Professional Experience-----

Designation -----

Job attributes

Office timings-----

Demographic composition of organization:

Name of university -----

Type: Mixed University -----Women-only university-----

Appendix 3.D

Interview Guide

For the study purpose, I have developed the following questions based on all variables of current study. I have taken relevant items from different quantitative questionnaires (yet for qualitative answers) developed by different authors. The main questions specifically addressed were however, from the original aims of the study for example:

What major constraints do you face at:

Familial level,

Societal, level,

Organizational, and

Personal level during your career journey?

What major supportive factors do you experience at:

Familial level,

Societal, level,

Organizational, and

Personal level for your career progression?

I also posed the sub questions within the main focus of the study. Following areas were generally addressed:

In the Familial context

Domestic Responsibilities

To what extent do you and your spouse/family members share domestic responsibilities? (for example, housework, shopping, cooking, washing etc).

If you have children, to what extent do you and your spouse/family members share childcare responsibilities and who looked after your children when ill?

Were you able to make arrangements that were satisfactory to you and your family?

What are some of the problems you face when leaving your children to work, please state?

If your children have problems, do you feel guilty or blame yourself for working? Please explain.

Have you had other domestic responsibilities such as the care of elderly relatives?

(Coleman, 2002)

Family-Work Interface (FWI)

Could you please explain how your family affects your work responsibilities?

How do you maintain balance between family responsibilities and career development activities at work (for example: networking, career development work-shops, courses, national /international conferences?

(Carlson, et al., 2000) (Gutek et al., 1991) (Netemeyer, et al., 1996)

Inter-family support

What or who has had a major influence on your career path?

If you were to run into difficulties at work, how helpful do you think, the family members would be? In terms of cares for your personal matters and emotional support?

How much does each of these people go out of their way to do things to make your work and family life easier for you?

How family and social support help in smooth functioning of your work and family domain?

(Caplan et al., 1975)

How work responsibilities affect you and your family?

(Guttek et al., 1991)

Organizational Support

Of the interview panel that selected you as ----, approximately how many were men and how many were women?
Could you please tell about the amount of support and guidance you receive/received from your vice-Chancellor to perform your job well and yet be able to perform home-related duties adequately?
How much can your Peers/colleagues be relied on when things get tough at work?
Have you had a mentor, or role model who encouraged or inspired you?
Were you encouraged at any time to apply for promotion? If so, by whom?
Any other?

(Coleman, 2002) (Wayne et al., 1997)

General perception about the organizational factors

How satisfied do you feel with the progress you have made in this organization up to now? (Greenhaus et al., 1990)
How satisfied are you with the opportunities which exist in this University for advancement and promotion. (Schriesheim and Tsui, 1980).
Regardless of job's policy on training and development, to what extent have your vice-Chancellor made a substantial investment in you by providing formal training and development opportunities?
How satisfied do you feel with your chance for getting ahead in this University under present Vice-Chancellor? (male or female)
Being a woman, to what extent, the degree of respect and fair treatment you receive from your Vice-Chancellor? (male or female)
How do you perceive that females in your university are encouraged to develop their career?
Was there a point in your career when you thought you would not achieve headship?
Could you please tell about your present job experience when you compare it to other women working in other (mixed or women only) universities?
Do you take active part in the academic staff association?
If you are given choices to select women only universities or mixed universities, which one would you prefer to work in and why?
Any other

Hackman & Oldham (1974) (Bacharach et al., 1991)

At personal level

At what stage of your life did you formulate a career plan that included senior management positions?
What kind of personal/professional qualities do you feel that helped in your career journey?
What kind of personal constraints did you experience while aspiring for this job?
Do you feel any difficulties while managing?
Along with the job devotion, do you regard your personal interests?
How can you spare your time from work that you would like to spend with family/friends?
Any other

(Carlson, et al., 2000) (Dunham & Smith, 1979)

Focus Group

I asked the questions at the focus group that I gathered from the participants of the study when interviewing them individually and from the original aims of the study and tried to cover main variables. One main question I asked at the beginning of the focus group discussion:

Why women are lacking in the top management positions? What are the important factors behind?

I also posed the sub questions for example:

Do you think any influence of traditional gender stereotypes and societal norms regarding your dual roles?

What you actually perceive the impact of family responsibilities on your career progression?

What kind of social support did you get in your career?

How do you feel working in mixed university?

If you are given choices to select women only universities or mixed universities, which one would you prefer to work in and why?

What are your feelings and emotions, when you get home from work?

Key informants

I also put in place the following questions before key informants to supplement the main ideas that I gathered from the participants of the study when interviewing them individually and collectively at the focus group discussion as well as from the original aims of the study.

The main questions were such as;

Why the majority of women are not in senior management positions?

To what extent universities have contributed to women's career development or to facilitate their dual responsibilities?

What are the main causes of gender imbalance that often tend to favour the recruitment and promotion of males over females?

Key informants were also requested to put forward ideas about:

How government, universities, women themselves and society could address any potential barriers and make a positive difference to women's career progression particularly in management positions.

Probes:

I used probes at appropriate time. The purpose of probes in interviews was to enable the participants to be as informative as possible in their responses. They were neutral prompts that encouraged additional information, but did not suggest specific answers. Some examples of probes) were "How is that?" or "In what ways?" and so on (Martini, 2012).

Appendix 3E

Information sheet for participants

Study Title: Influence of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors on Women's Career Advancement to Senior Managerial Position in the Universities of Pakistan

I would like to invite you to participate in this doctoral research which I am conducting as a part of my doctoral studies, which I am pursuing at institute of education, university of London. The proposal of my research has been approved by the academic panel and the ethical review committee of my Faculty of Policy and Society.

In my current research I am exploring the impact of familial, societal, organizational and personal factors on women's career progression in a country like Pakistan. The aim of this research is to:

- c. to identify familial, societal, organizational and personal constraints and barriers to the appointment of women to senior management positions;
- d. to identify familial, societal, organizational and personal supportive factors;
- e. to disseminate the findings with a view to bringing about change within institutions and develop aspiration, and boost women's confidence to be able to apply for senior management positions with a realistic prospect of success.

It is a qualitative research and I will be conducting a 60-90 minutes face to face interview, to understand the difficulties women may encounter in the development of their career to senior level positions and to gain full insight into the moderating role of perceived organizational and family support in this regard.

I understand and appreciate the significance of confidentiality and anonymity. I assure you that all responses will be kept confidential. Your interview responses will only be shared with my supervisors. The information to be gathered through the interview will only be used for academic purpose.

I ensure that any information I will include in my data will not identify you as the respondent

Please be assured, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time. I'll be analyzing the information in coming months. I'll be happy to send you a copy to review at that time, if you are interested.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview? I will be grateful if you can confirm.

I hope you will enjoy talking to me.

If you have any problems with the project, please tell me or binayat@ioe.ac.uk

bushra_edu@hotmail.com

Thank you for reading this information.

Regards

Bushra Inayat

Doctoral Student

Faculty of Policy and Society

Institute of Education

University of London

20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL

Appendix 3 F

List of senior/junior female officers in university management, Interviewed/Focus group

Interview No.	Original Names of Respondents	Pseudonym Names	Senior/Junior Female officer in university management
1		Dr.Khalida	Senior
2		Dr.Farah	Senior
3		Dr. Jameela	Senior
4		Dr.Shazia	Senior
5		Dr.Lubna	Senior
6		Ms.Shazia	
7		Ms.Alia	Senior
8		Ms. Nazia	Senior
9		Ms. Zahida	Senior
10		Professor Shajeela	
11		Professor Abida	Senior
12		Dr.Tayyaba	Senior
13		Dr.Raheela	Senior
14		Dr.Umeta	Senior
15		Professor Dr. Sonia	Senior
16		Professor Dr.Roshan	Senior
17		Dr.Mamoonah	Senior
18		Ms. Lara	Senior
19		Dr. Zubaida	Senior
20		Dr. Ayesha	Senior
21		Dr. Samina	Senior
22		Ms. Hadia	Senior
23		Ms. Gul	Senior
24		Ms. Sadia	Senior
25		Dr. Zara	Senior
26		Ms. Zeenat	Senior
27		Dr.Noora	Senior
28		Ms Akeela	Senior
29		Ms. Shakeela	*MM but counted as junior
30		Ms.Robina	*MM, but counted as junior
31		Ms.Asma	Senior
32		Ms.Rabia	Senior
33		Ns. Nida	Junior
34		Ms. Alia	Junior
35		Ms. Irum	Junior
36		Ms. Sajida	Junior
37		Ms. Zareena	Junior
38		Ms. Sara	Junior
39		Ms Shan	Junior
40		Ms. Shamim	Junior
41		Ms. Shawar	Junior
42		Ms.Badar	Junior
43		Ms. Fatima	Junior
44		Ms. Maria	Junior
45		Ms. Noreen	Junior
46		Ms. Huma	Junior
47		Ms. Asifa	Junior
48		Ms. Amber	Junior

Note : *MM (Middle management) since they were only one grade ahead to junior management positions and were recently promoted to middle management positions therefore their experiences were taken into account as junior

Participants of Focus Group Discussion

Serial #	Original Names of Respondents	Designation
1		Associate Professor
2		Director/ Professor
3		Associate Professor / Head of Department
4		Assistant Professor
5		Chairperson/Associate professor
6		Assistant professor

Appendix 3G. Key Informants

Key Informants	Positions held
1	A female Vice-Chancellor of a sample university
2	A male Vice-Chancellor of a sample university
3	A Chairperson of Women resources centre of a sample university
	A member of Syndicate committee of a sample University
4	An Executive Director Higher Education Commission
5	A male Vice-Chancellor
6	A female Vice-Chancellor
7	Secretary Higher Education Punjab
8	Additional Secretary Higher education Punjab
9	A Chairperson women division
10	Chairperson National Commission on the status of Women (NCSW)

Appendix 3 H. Phase 1. Open Coding:

A few example of open data coding. I attached conceptual labels to the interview transcripts to capture what had been said.

Coding category	Open data coding
<p>Career ambition</p> <p>Career aspiration</p> <p>Education of children is given priority over career advancement</p> <p>Societal trends</p> <p>No preference to women's job</p> <p>Non-cooperative husband</p> <p>Women are not encouraged to take up management job</p> <p>Family constraints to women's career</p> <p>Requirements of married life</p>	<p>Question: What or who has had a major influence on your career path?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I want to progress to the most senior ranks of university management. Currently, I have been offered a high senior position in a university. It is a very prestigious job and it is tempting to accept this offer. The date for accepting this offer is not over yet. The main issue is that this university is situated in another city. Due to my son's education, I am not going to accept it straightaway, although my son is grown up and studying in a university I will have to wait till the completion of his degree.</i> (Senior Interviewee, 19)</p> <p>Example 2: <i>People do like to have an educated wife but they don't like them having a job. Some women do not care about these restrictions but then the home is spoiled in the long run.</i> (Focus group)</p> <p>Example 3: <i>I should be in competition for a promotion but my husband discourages me from taking up the next level of administrative responsibilities. He believes that in this case home and family would suffer.</i> (Junior Interviewee, 48)</p> <p>Example 4: <i>Out of a hundred we were only three females who were designated as Director of different departments in this university. One got married, then she had to move somewhere else with her husband. The other had to migrate to Canada with her husband. Only I am left.</i> (Senior Interviewee, 25)</p>

<p>Domestic responsibilities and Cultural notions</p> <p>Social mindset</p> <p>Women accept their roles</p> <p>Stereotypes</p> <p>Double burden of responsibilities</p> <p>Importance of women's domestic role</p> <p>Women are respected within their homes,</p> <p>Patriarchal society,</p> <p>Gender differences,</p> <p>Gender specific jobs,</p>	<p>Question: To what extent do you and your spouse/family members share domestic responsibilities? (For example, housework, shopping, cooking, washing etc).</p> <p>Example 1: <i>My husband never shares domestic responsibilities. Due to our cultural traditions, males are not groomed accordingly. the mindset has not changed. I never even thought about it. It was my routine work to deal with all home-related matters. Although we both do shopping together, the main responsibility is mine to arrange everything at home.</i>(Senior Interviewee, 21).</p> <p>Example 2: <i>We do not expect Pakistani men to work in the kitchen and do laundry, however, it is not fair that they come from their jobs and then ask for food. You come from your job and then again are busy in the kitchen and doing other related tasks.</i> (Senior Interviewee, 7).</p> <p>Example 3: <i>Mostly, the role of a woman as a homemaker in Pakistan is given high importance. It is not the case that people deliberately undermine their position. In Pakistan older women have a major influence on the family [...]. It is because of patriarchal notions relating to gender differences that society is reluctant to accept women's leadership roles in organizations</i>”(Focus group)</p>
<p>Husband and wife both take care their unwell children</p>	<p>Question: If you have children, to what extent do you and your spouse/family members share childcare responsibilities and who looked after your children when ill?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I and my husband were both working (now he is retired). When our children or any other family member became ill, we both took care of them. Sometimes I and sometimes he would take leave from jobs to take them to doctor or stay at home to look after them. [...] Once when my daughter suffered from typhoid, my</i></p>

Support from the in-laws	<i>father in-law came all the way from Lahore to Islamabad just to give her the prescribed medication on time. This was not possible for us as we both were working". (Senior Interviewee, 1)</i>
<p>No issue relating to children 's care</p> <p>Supportive in-laws</p> <p>Perception about management job</p>	<p>Question: What are some of the problems you face when leaving your children to work, please state?</p> <p>Example: <i>I never had such issues. I must appreciate the kind of support provided by my in-laws, particularly when my children were very young. I always left them with grandmother. She happily took care of them, carefully fed them, washed them and took care of every need [...]. The management work and related long hours assignments would have been impossible to handle if she had not been behind me. (Interviewee, 24)</i></p>
<p>Dual responsibilities</p> <p>Elderly care responsibilities,</p> <p>Long working hours constraints</p>	<p>Question: Have you had other domestic responsibilities such as the care of elderly relatives?</p> <p>Example: <i>Yes, I have to run a home parallel to my job responsibilities. I have my mother with me who has different kinds of health issues. I look after each aspect of her life. I am managing two departments in the university. My day starts early but ends late. I go home late. This routine does not make my mother happy."</i> (Senior Interviewee, 16)</p>
<p>Family to work interference</p> <p>Societal as well organizational restraints</p> <p>Effects of dual responsibilities on women's personal life</p>	<p>Question: Could you please explain how your family affects your work responsibilities?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>It never happens that I receive no phone calls from my home regarding household matters. This diverts my attention from my official work."</i> (Senior Interviewee, 20)</p> <p>Example 2: <i>I am a mother and wife. I do justice to both roles, but due to dual responsibilities and too many demands and difficulties in the system, I become annoyed. Sometimes I yell in the house. Sometimes I yell in the office."</i> (Senior Interviewee, 13)</p>

<p>Family obligations affected women's career promotion</p> <p>Preference to child's education</p>	<p>Question: Could you please explain how your family affects your career?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I understand that I should obtain a position at the highest level in my area but due to family commitments I had to refuse a scholarship twice for higher studies abroad [...] now I am in the junior ranks as compared to my other colleagues. Still...again, I want to have a career break due to my kids' education. I want to establish their base [...]</i>". (Junior Interviewee, 41)</p>
<p>Constraints of family obligations on career development opportunities</p> <p>Acknowledgement of family support</p> <p>Choices between family and career</p> <p>Management a demanding job</p> <p>Coping with work-life issues</p> <p>Support from mother</p> <p>Help from domestic servants</p>	<p>Question: How do you maintain balance between family responsibilities and career development activities at work (for example: networking, career development work-shops, courses, national /international conferences?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I work more than a man, 14 hours a day. What if I am given the opportunity to go abroad to study for a further higher degree. I cannot go straightaway due to family responsibilities but a man can go without thinking about other options as they have no such responsibilities as women do [...]. If I were a man, no doubt, I would have progressed more quickly and more successfully than I have as a woman.</i>"(Senior Interviewee 14)</p> <p>Example 2: <i>I have succeeded largely due to my family support. However, there were times when I had to make choices and limit my professional activities in order to maintain my life and career.</i>" (Senior Interviewee, 1)</p> <p>Example 3: <i>A more senior management position is very demanding [...]. It is quite challenging to perform dual responsibilities. However, the work-life issue is not a daily problem. Whenever I met this kind of situation in my life, I found effective ways to deal with it [...]. Allah also helped us as I and my husband are working in the same area. This is very convenient for us. We made arrangements to take care of our child without any tensions. While we are going to work, we leave our child with my mother. She lives in the same city. When we return home, we pick him up. Thus we are enjoying the benefits of both nuclear and joint family systems [...]. For domestic chores I have a maid at home. We adjust her working hours when we are at home.</i>" (Junior Interviewee, 40)</p>

<p>Organized work-family sphere due to organizational facilities</p> <p>Convenient travelling</p>	<p>Example 4: <i>I have no worries. I have a set pattern of work and family life [...]. I am living on campus in a university housing building. The university staff van runs between campuses and leaves every half an hour, till late in the evening. So commuting to any university campus is very easy. I have planned my home and work schedules according to this. I've never had a problem in reaching the office on time. Either I am at home or at the office. Mostly I work with peace of mind [...]. Even, when I have to go shopping, I have found the university transportation like no other [...]. For me the transport facility removes all worries. It saves a lot of time which you can easily devote to your other responsibilities". (Senior Interviewee, 19)</i></p>
<p>Focused</p> <p>Organized</p>	<p>Example 5: <i>I focus on urgent and important tasks rather than those that are not important. I always make a list of what I must get through in a day or week. For example, I used to write two separate to-do lists, what I would like to get through in the office and in my home and focus on completing those on that day. I always try not to leave tasks incomplete". (Junior, Interviewee, 30)</i></p>
<p>Inspiration</p> <p>Guidance and Mentoring</p> <p>Resentment from spouse about job</p> <p>Support from father in laws</p> <p>Role of professional experience in career progression.</p>	<p>Question: What or who has had a major influence on your career path?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I never forget to mention the name of two of the senior women [she named] who inspired me in every step of my career. They had a great influence on my career ambitions. One was in an executive position with whom I worked for many years. She has just retired from her job. For each and every step of my career life I had guidance and advice from her". (Senior Interviewee, 2)</i></p> <p>Example 2: <i>Due to continuous resentment from my husband about my job I would not have progressed to my position if my father-in-law was not in favor of my job". (Junior Interviewee, 40)</i></p> <p>Example 3: <i>"In my previous job I was associate professor and Head of a Department. I believe that my previous experience made me professionally sound and made me preferred over the other candidates". (Senior, interviewee, 11)</i></p>

Role of academic qualification in career progression	<p>Example 4: <i>I was in the right place at the right time. I completed my PhD after two years of my Masters degree. I got my first senior title at a very young age as compared to other women in the field [...]. I always made the right decisions and did not miss the opportunities available for my career development". (Senior interviewee, 16).</i></p>
Financial crisis and Family support	<p>Question: If you were to run into difficulties at work, how helpful do you think, the family members would be? In terms of cares for your personal matters and emotional support?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>One thing I am going to tell you which I never shared with anyone as I believe that you are a researcher and my identity will be protected [...]</i> <i>Due to a dispute that occurred in our family business, we got into a financial crisis [...]</i> <i>We, all sisters and brothers were studying [...]</i> <i>A huge amount of educational expense was due to be paid monthly. Every month my father had to get a loan for the purpose. At a point a time it became hard [...]</i> <i>when I needed to pay my admission fee. You know what happened? [...]</i> <i>My mother sold her gold jewelry [...] to pay my required expenses [...]. Nothing could pay back all her kindness". [While explaining about this her eyes were filled with tears and she could not speak further about it] (Senior, Interviewee, 25)</i></p>
Financial support from parents	
Organizational glitches	<p>Example 2: <i>"Once the university administration became fussy about my scholarship [...]</i> <i>although it had already been granted related matters were not taken care properly [...]. When my husband anticipated that in the near future this was not going to be resolved, he advised me to abandon the idea of getting funding from the university and promised to arrange the funding from his own resources. Literally, there was a huge amount of money involved. But he kept his promise for the sake of my higher education studies and has been with me every step of the way in my career journey. If such financial and moral support had not been given it would have been more challenging and almost impossible for me to pursue my career ambitions". (Senior Interviewee, 1)</i></p>
Thoughtfulness of husband	
Financial and moral support from husband	

<p>Understanding between husband and wife</p>	<p>Question: How much does each of these people go out of their way to do things to make your work and family life easier for you?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>There is a kind of mutual understanding and care between me and my husband [...] We accept each other's roles, we are very considerate of each other [...] For example, I take care of him, he manages official matters and related correspondence for me [...] I work with the same support he had in the home. That's how things worked. [...] He does shopping, I have to do the list [...] I wouldn't say he's non-cooperative [...]. We've got everything we want the other person to do". (Senior Interviewee, 11)</i></p>
<p>Interface between work and family</p> <p>Mothers' help in domestic responsibilities</p> <p>Family support</p> <p>Mediates work-family interface</p>	<p>Question: How family and social support help in smooth functioning of your work and family domain?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>My mother is a vital part of my career success. I get every kind of support for my career development from her. My daily work plan often clashes with my family demands. Time I spend at my job keeps me from sharing equally in home affairs. I appreciate the continuous support throughout my career provided by my mother. She lets me ignore my family responsibilities because when I get home from my job, I am often too exhausted to participate in family activities. She never leaves any task for me to do". (Junior Interviewee, 39)</i></p>
<p>Women are not supportive to other women</p>	<p>Question: Of the interview panel that selected you as -----, approximately how many were men and how many were women?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>At the time of my promotion there were both male and female members on the interview panel but the person who opposed my promotion was a senior woman. [...]. I could not understand why she had opposed my promotion to the next higher grade over just a minor issue that I was not computer literate. This was not a big issue. She ignored my degree and work experience of 20 years in the same field. She kept emphasizing her point of view. This went against me. I could not be promoted at that time;</i></p>

Women are not considerate to other women	<i>instead a male was selected for that post [...]. Who should I blame for that?" (Senior Interviewee, 9)</i>
<p>Benefits of Joint family system</p> <p>Female boss was not considerate</p> <p>Male boss was thought to be thoughtful</p> <p>Women headship was disliked by women</p>	<p>Question: Could you please tell about the amount of support and guidance you receive/received from your vice-Chancellor to perform your job well and yet be able to perform home-related duties adequately?</p> <p><i>"I was living in a joint family system. I never had any difficulty with childcare [...]. Once my mother in law was not well. My little son was at home. Our maidservant could not come that day. I got a phone call from my husband about the situation. I went to my female boss and asked her for a short leave. She turned my application down and replied ruthlessly, "this is not my headache, and you women folk always provide lame excuses to get back home before time [...]. If there was a male boss, instead, I don't think he would have shown this kind of behavior. I am sure he would let me leave earlier [...]. Truly speaking I don't want to work under women heads, they are more finicky and less considerate." (Junior Interviewee, 41)</i></p>
<p>Professional jealousy</p> <p>Frustration about colleague's attitudes</p>	<p>Question: How much can your Peers/colleagues be relied on when things get tough at work?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>When I was appointed as the Head of this Department my colleagues who were very supportive and friendly turned their back on me. This concerned me a lot [...], that they developed a kind of rivalry, professional jealousy. At times, I felt there was a conspiracy against me. I spent a lot of time consolidating my position. While all this was happening, I was very frustrated. Many times, I thought I should leave this job, because people were behaving so badly, I thought I couldn't compete with them" (Senior Interviewee, 12).</i></p>
Friendly attitudes of father	<p>Question: Have you had a mentor, or role model who encouraged or inspired you?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>My father was a retired Army officer. He was very friendly and very close to all of us [...]. We all, sisters and brothers, were in the habit of listening to stories before going to</i></p>

<p>Training and advices from father</p> <p>Parental encouragement and role model</p> <p>Father as a role model</p> <p>Inspiration</p> <p>Parental guidance and support</p>	<p>bed at night. We used to gather around our father. Instead of fiction, he used to share his success stories with us. He prepared us for future challenges by telling us stories about his own failures and achievements throughout life [...]. My father always said to me 'You are different from your brothers and sisters. You have potential. You should go into the army or any management field. I can see leadership qualities in you. [...] Indeed, I had no such perceptions about myself [...]. Due to his encouragement and belief in my qualities, I become more confident. I remember the teachings of my father and successfully manage my job". (Senior Interviewee, 6)</p> <p>Example 2: "My father has always been a role model for me. He had served as a headmaster in a school. He was a very intelligent man and dedicated to his profession [...]. He successfully managed his career and was much admired by all [...]. I love my father and his profession. I developed my career interest in his field of interest. [...]" My father encouraged me a lot and provided me with guidance and support for my career". (Junior Interviewee, 45)</p>
<p>Encouragement and support from husband to apply for senior positions</p> <p>Men are preferred over women for senior management positions</p>	<p>Question: Were you encouraged at any time to apply for promotion? If so, by whom?</p> <p>Example 1: Once I applied for a Vice-Chancellor's position but I did not do so by myself. My husband convinced me to do so, although I was not fully convinced but just respected his wishes and idea [...]. He prepared all the papers for me and completed the due requirements for the application [...]. I just appeared before the interview panel [...] However, I was not appointed which is not surprising at all". [Laughed] (Senior Interviewee, 2)</p>
<p>Discrepancy in disbursing professional</p>	<p>Question: How satisfied are you with the opportunities which exist in this University for advancement and promotion.</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I have been serving here in this so-called prestigious university for more than 10 years and so are my few other female colleagues. We should be given training and development</i></p>

development opportunities Organizational discrimination	<i>opportunities like others [...] from the beginning of my career to date, we have never been nominated for any national/international conferences, workshops, or other professional development training. However, this is not the same for every office.</i> Interviewee, 30).
Frustration about formal training and development opportunities offered by the universities	<p>Question: Regardless of job's policy on training and development, to what extent have your vice-Chancellor made a substantial investment in you by providing formal training and development opportunities?</p> <p>Example: <i>Besides formal training and development opportunities, my university did not provide me with support to get additional professional development opportunities. It was all my personal efforts. Organizational heads facilitated me only through proper channel formalities by giving no objections, etc. [...]</i>" (Senior Interviewee, 21</p>
Uncertainty about promotion Subtle Discrimination Comparatively, male are given more preference for senior management positions	<p>Question: Being a woman, to what extent, the degree of respect and fair treatment you receive from your Vice-Chancellor? (male or female)</p> <p>Example 1: <i>In the mixed universities, there was always an uncertain situation when male and female both were candidates for promotion. There was no certainty for those women who were extremely good at their jobs whether they would get a fair chance of being selected [...]. A number of times there was a point in my own career when I thought I would not be able to achieve headship".</i> (Senior Interviewee, 11).</p>
Subtle discrimination Gender biases	<p>Question: How do you perceive that females in your university are encouraged to develop their career?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>Though it is said that opportunities are open for both male and female there are invisible means of discrimination at institutional level. Women cannot fairly benefit from the opportunities announced. University authorities present different lame excuses not to nominate women for particular opportunities</i></p>

Hidden biases	and situations [...] <i>they look at a woman as a woman not as a professional. I must say this is a hidden bias against them.</i> ” (Senior Interviewee, 8)
Difficult time in career	Question: Was there a point in your career when you thought you would not achieve headship?
Professional rivalry	Example 1: <i>Though I have achieved well, my career journey has not been a bed of roses [...] I had a very tough time, right the way through my scholarship to my headship. Last year my headship was an issue [...]. A male colleague wanted my position, he struggled against me, he created different stories, and he wrote numerous letters to the authorities. However, when nothing happened, he left this department</i> (Senior Interviewee, 16)
Stood firm in the face of difficulties	
Women are not preferred for major positions of the academic unions	Question: Do you take active part in the academic staff association? Example 1: <i>It is on the record that women are never encouraged to be nominated for the major positions of the different unions. These organizations have late evening meetings and actively function through frequent socialization among members. Pakistani women could not meet with these requirements because of their social set up. Men always hold the key positions.”</i> (Senior Interviewee, 24)
Norms of Pakistani society and issues of networking	Example 2: <i>At college level I was the president of the students union. I have the temperament for such activities. My colleagues tried to persuade me to submit myself to be elected for the teacher/staff association. I was not persuaded to present myself as a potential candidate [...]. Males have their own circle, different timings to meet, usually they meet in the evenings, after office hours or mostly at dinners. I do not feel at home with such informal meetings at odd hours”.</i> (Junior Interviewee, 46)
Women’s own choices not submitting herself as a potential candidate for different academic associations	

Style of women leadership was not appreciated	<p>Question: If you are given choices to select women only universities or mixed universities, which one would you prefer to work in and why?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>Truly speaking, I don't want to work under women heads, they are more finicky and less considerate.</i>" (Junior Interviewee, 41)</p>
<p>No career planning</p> <p>No aspiration for management positions</p> <p>No aptitude for management position</p> <p>Clear career planning</p> <p>Clear career goals</p>	<p>Question: At what stage of your life did you formulate a career plan that included senior management positions?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>Honestly speaking, I was not interested in my higher education but my father was keen on my studies [...]. When I did my PhD my parents thought I should take a job [...], so I did [...]. I never demanded anything. I didn't desire a leading position. All is blessings of Allah who has given me this high status. I never wanted to become the chairperson and Head of Department. It is well known to everybody here in this university that twice I refused the position of chairperson. I had developed some kind of conflict over this issue but despite my resistance I had to do it [...] Actually, I have no temperament to be a manager or leader. I never wanted to be what I am now. I want to be good looking and charming. I want to wear good clothes. The beautiful dresses of brides attract me a lot. To be very honest, these are the truths of my life". [...]</i> (Senior Interviewee, 15)</p> <p>Example 2: <i>"I had planned my education and career with the help of my parent's guidance. I selected subjects according to my areas of interest [...]. Once when my father was transferred to another city, I realized that I could not continue with my subject areas. I stayed with my mother and continued with my studies [...]. I remember one of my friends, due to her father's posting had discontinued with her studies. She could not find a programme as the date had passed. Consequently, she lost interest. During this period she got married and shut the career door forever".</i> (Senior Interviewee, 27)</p>
Self assurance	

	<p>Question: What kind of personal/professional qualities do you feel that helped in your career journey?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>When I started working in this position, I faced opposition for a long time. However, I was quite confident that I could handle things [...]. Once a group of male students came to my office and said “We respect you a lot as a woman but we advise you not to continue with this position as this is a purely male environment and you are likely to experience difficulties.” [...]. I listened to them very patiently. I was not afraid but replied with a smile. “I know I have started working in a different environment but I believe I am surrounded by people like you. You are sensible and I believe I will not face any difficulties while working with you” [...]. They were not expecting me to make this kind of response. They were confused. They could not say anything else [...] I succeeded in using their psyche and was able to challenge them and change the discussion completely [...]. I fought against the myths and proved that women can lead and manage while working in a mixed environment [...]. Now the situation is that not a single decision is made without me being consulted at all levels. The Vice-chancellor is always appreciative of my innovative ideas”. (Senior Interviewee, 6)</i></p> <p>Example 2: <i>I got my husband’s support because he had no choice as in the early years of our marriage I made it clear to my in-laws and my husband that at any cost I would pursue my career. Initially my in-laws were not happy with this. However, my husband had to compromise”. (Senior interviewee, 18)</i></p> <p>Example 3: <i>[...] When I was abroad for my higher education studies, my supervisor said to me that you don’t have enough money, you don’t know English, you don’t know how to use a computer, you have language problems, you cannot arrange a baby sitter for your son, and your husband is unable to get a visa to join you. Therefore, you had better leave and go back to your country. I said “No way, this can only be over my dead body [...]. I explained to my supervisor that the only problem I had was “I am completely alien to this environment. But I strongly believe in myself. I am confident I can do it all. Just give me some time to make it”. So I worked hard and finally proved myself. I met all requirements successfully [...]</i></p>
Management skills	
Good performance is always appreciated	
Assertive behaviour	
Determination to succeed	
Career planning	
Coping skills	

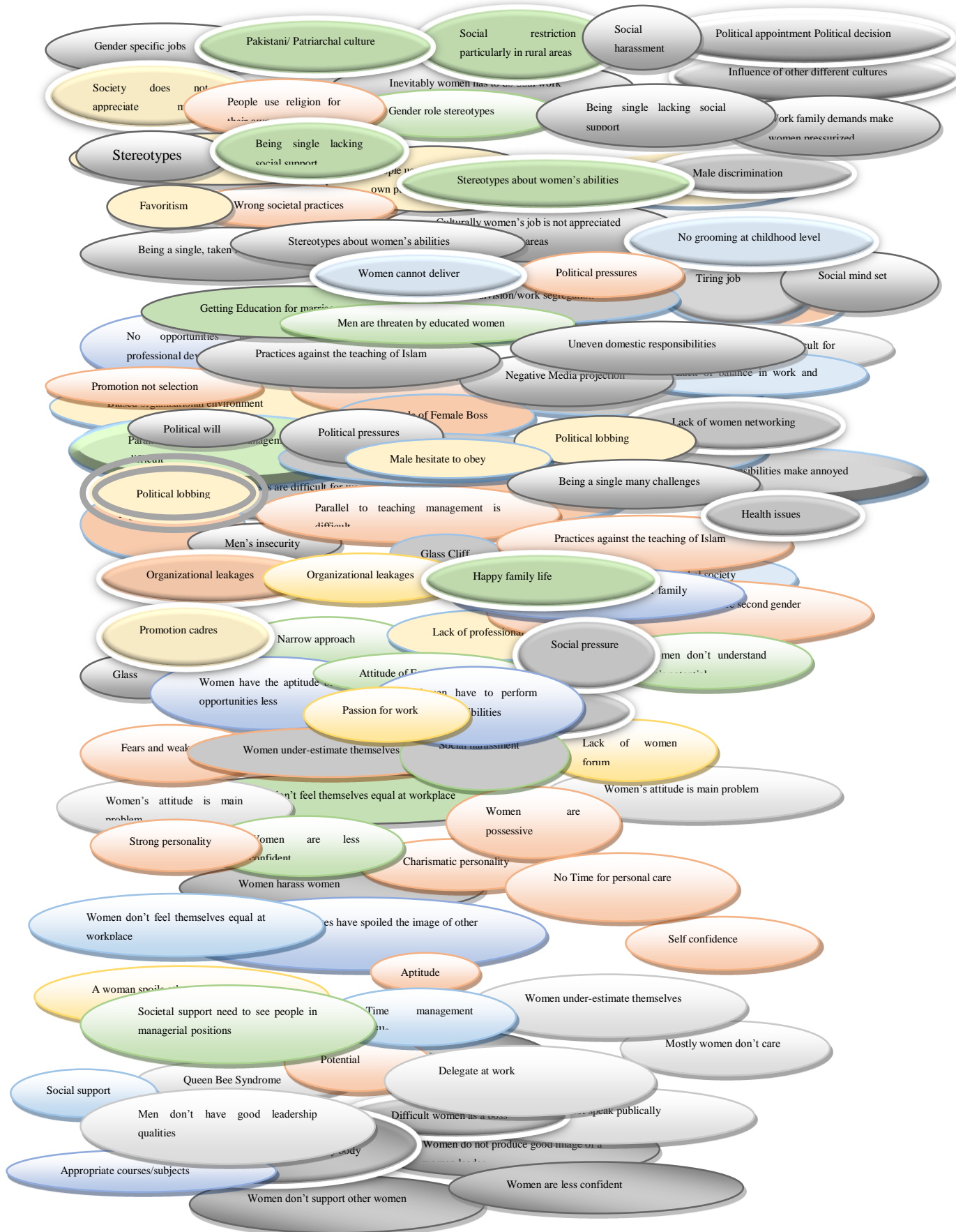
Extraordinary personal abilities	<i>at the end, I even taught a few courses at the university". (Senior Interviewee, 19)</i>
Fought against organizational difficulties	Example 4: <i>"I am a little exceptional. I have had hurdles all along. I had a difficult time from getting my scholarship until my headship. Last year my headship was a problem but I struggled a lot and managed to hold on to it [...]. One thing I have done for the whole of my life, I never give up. I face all situations courageously. I learn from every experience and maintain my own positive attitude in order to move ahead". (Senior Interviewee, 16)</i>
Determination Strong personality	
Professional behaviour	Question: Any other <i>Although I am sometimes short tempered, my dealings with others are very transparent and professional. In my whole career until now, being a woman, I never took favors [...]. Due to that, everybody even my male colleagues respect me a lot and are happy to work for me. The vice-chancellor often wants to see me heading different committees and meetings." (Senior Interviewee, 20)</i>
Transparent and honest working	
Afraid of managerial work load	Question: What kind of personal constraints did you experience while aspiring for this job? <i>I am eligible for the next higher grade. Parallel to the management cadre a faculty position has also been announced. I am thinking of applying for the teaching side because a higher management position requires different skills than teaching [...]. If I was appointed to a higher management position, I would have to be present at every activity outside the office. I would have to speak at many forums but I am not confident enough at being effective in meetings. I can't face too many public events [...]. Despite this, I feel that senior management positions in our country are very attractive and associated with many benefits [...] I cannot decide what I should do" (Senior Interviewee, 5)</i>
Preference for teaching	
Lack of confidence	
Poor communication skills	Example 2: <i>Yet this is indeed a skill that a good leader must have but I still get nervous while asking questions at conferences or seminars, even during the meetings. Actually I am introverted. I feel happy working while in the office and try to avoid this kind of</i>
Fear of facing public	

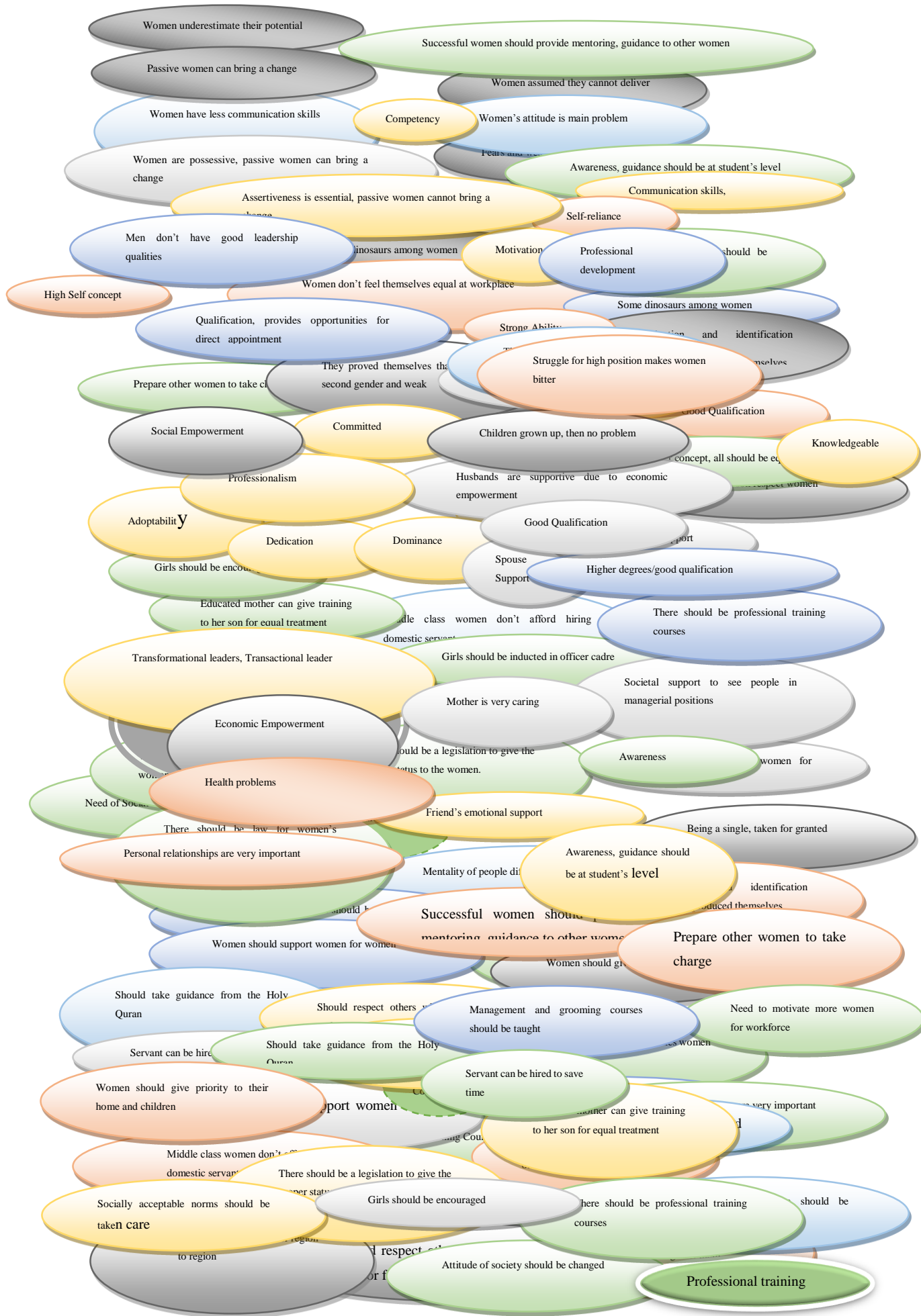
Fear of public speaking	<i>situation which I find difficult. [...] This is the only thing which is beyond my control otherwise I enjoy my senior position". (Senior Interviewee, 17)</i>
Management is considered stressful task work load and health issues Feeling guilty Due to health issue and guilt feeling left management cadre	<p>Question: Do you feel any difficulties while managing?</p> <p><i>"I left my headship due to public matters. I had to deal with many diverse official matters. I had to talk too much to different people, visitors, students, parents, and the media. I was fed up with this routine [...] I got chronic asthma. Sometimes, at nights, I had severe asthma attacks. My husband and son used to give me nebulizers. I felt guilty about their wakeful nights. I thought about what the job was doing to my family and I decided to leave that post. I wrote to the Education Department to move from my role and move to teaching. Initially, they were reluctant, but they had to do it. Though, currently, I am Head of a Department, this job is comparatively less stressful and tiring". (Senior Interviewee, 3)</i></p>
Dual responsibilities and lack of time for personal care Lack of time for family members Reduced social activities	<p>Question: Along with the job devotion, do you regard your personal interests?</p> <p>Example 1: <i>I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career but dual responsibilities have affected me to a great extent in different ways [...] Less time is available for my personal care, enjoyment and relaxation. Many times, I have had to postpone my appointments even with the doctor and I have to reschedule things. I have no time to see my mother though we are living in the same town. (Senior Interviewee, 2)</i></p> <p>Example 2: <i>I have no time for myself. In the morning, before coming to my office, I have to prepare my children for going to school. Due to time constraints, I do not have proper time for my breakfast [...]. Ideally speaking, I should have finished my lunch by 1pm. You can imagine, I am eating my breakfast at 4 pm. I have reduced attending family activities if there were three days of a function. I used to attend only one day of the function just for the sake of saving face." (Junior Interviewee, 29)</i></p>
No socialization	<p>Question: How can you spare your time from work that you would like to spend with family/friends?</p> <p><i>I do not have a social life. My relatives and friends complain that I have no time to call them [...]. I never have enough time for myself.</i></p>

No entrainment	<p><i>I like to watch movies. For that, sometimes, I have planned... but then I realize.... next morning, I will have to do so many other tasks. So then I postpone the idea and go to sleep without watching TV. I have absolutely no time for myself.” (Senior Interviewee, 10)</i></p>
Political will	<p>Question: Any other</p> <p><i>I was affected by the politics of the country. I was one of the candidates for the post of vice-chancellor but my application was rejected for reasons unknown [...]. However, it was fact that there was an obvious political factor. If politicians will keep on interfering in university matters, nobody will be selected on merit” (Senior Interviewee, 16)</i></p>

Phase 2.

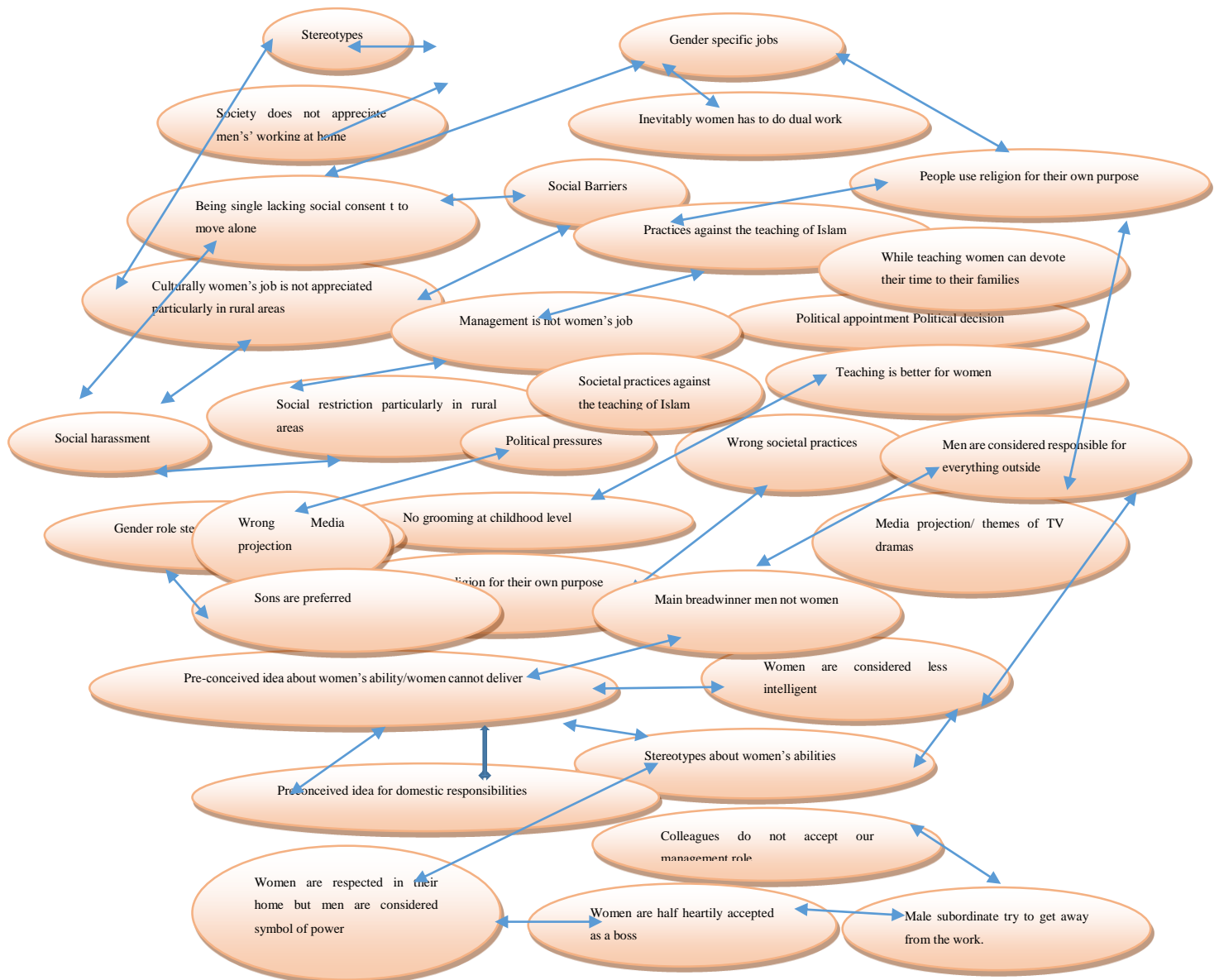
Appendix 3 I: Initial thematic map, showing analytic coding

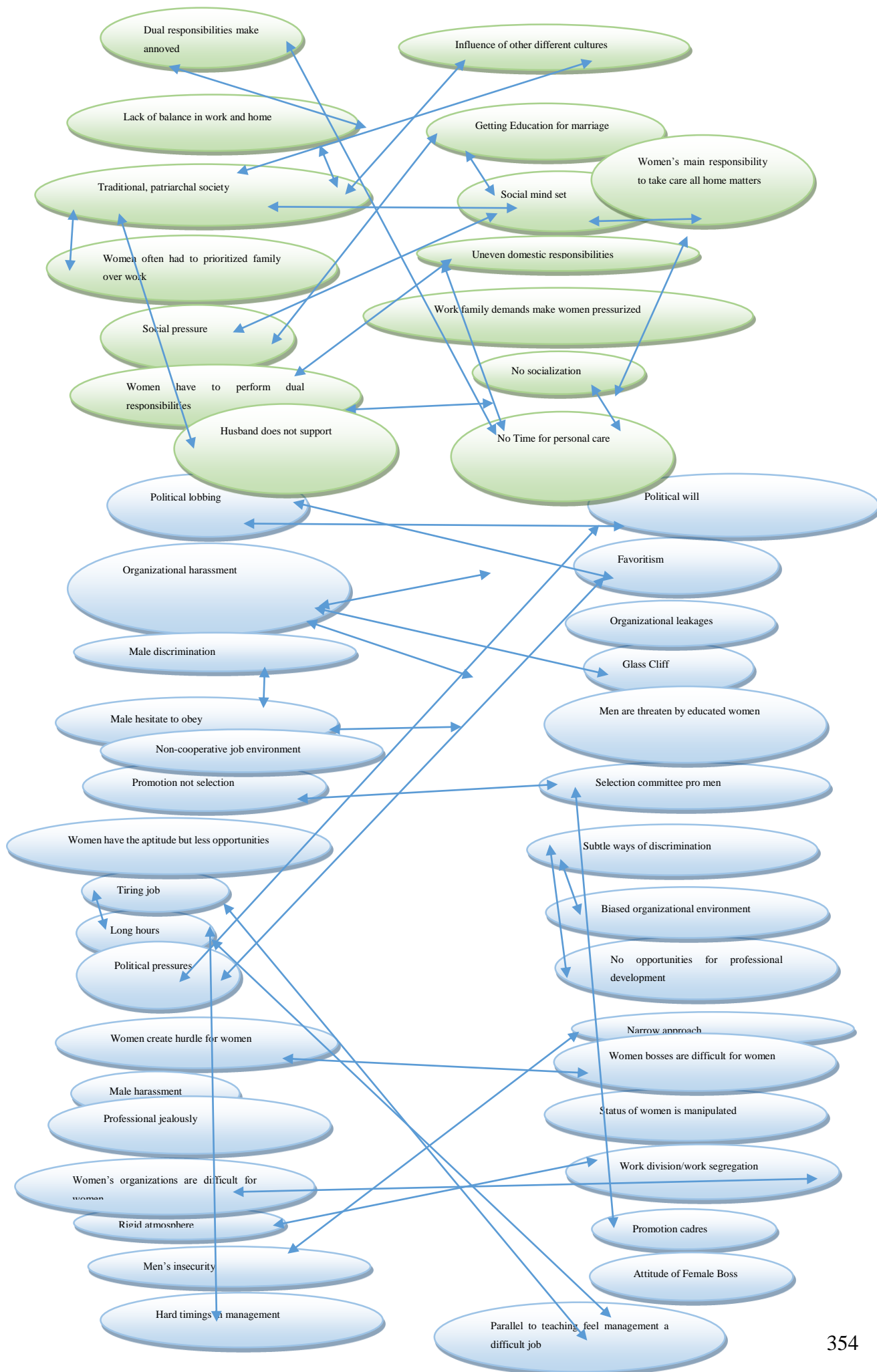


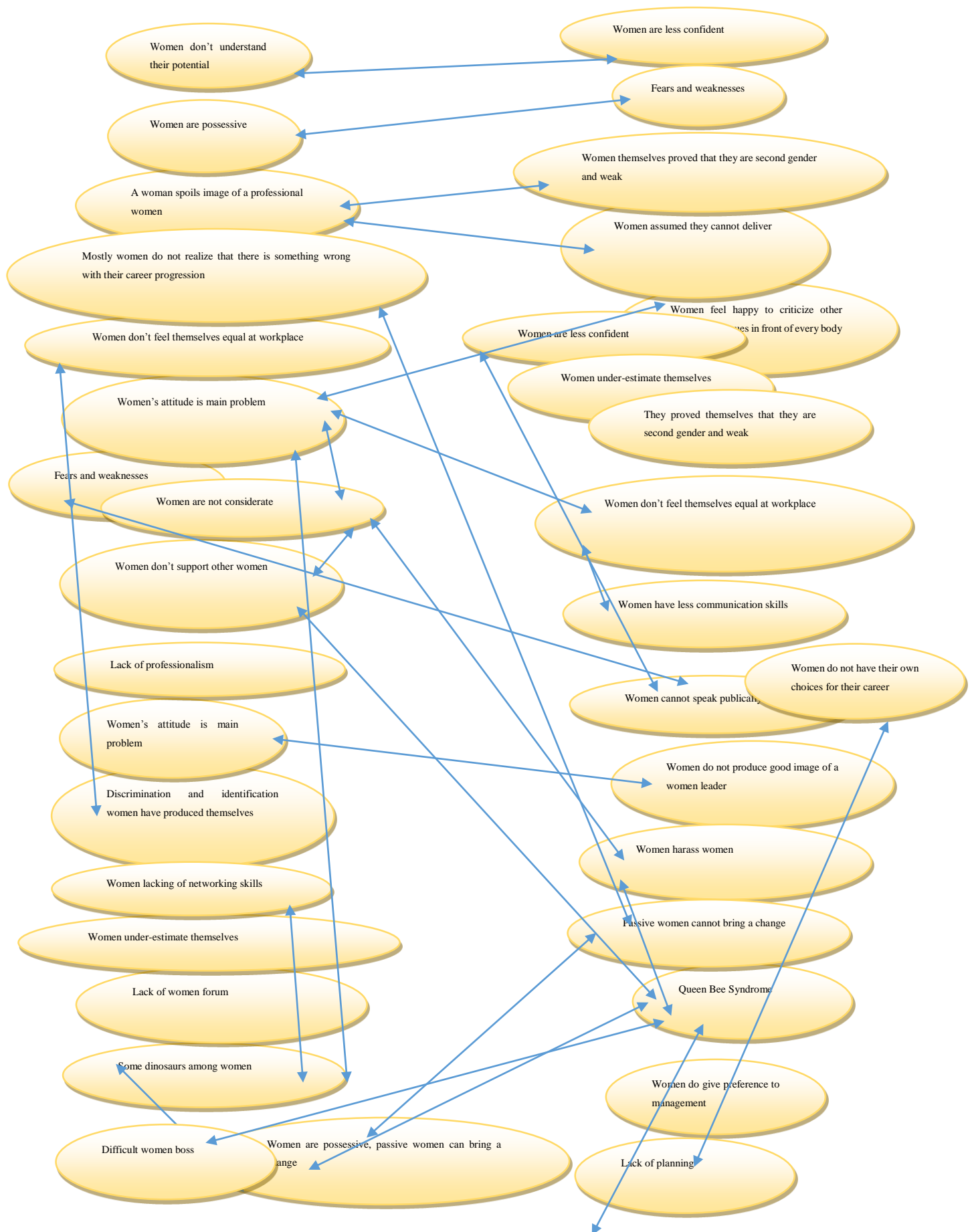


Appendix 3 J.

Phase 3. Developed thematic map, showing Axial Coding (for example)





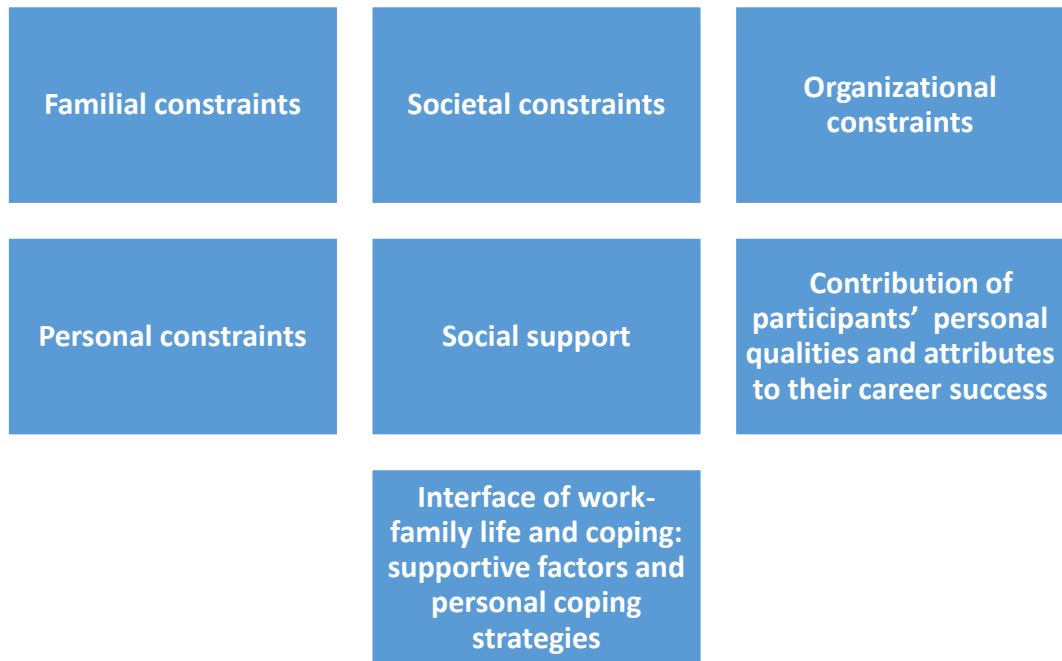




Appendix 3 K.

Phase 4.

Appendix 3J: Developed thematic map, showing final selective coding



4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E.

Appendix, 4A

Overall Gender based Distribution of University Management working in BPS 17 to 22 in the eight Universities

Basic Pay scale	Total	Male in number	In percentage	Female in numbers	In percentage
17	510	381	74.70	128	25.09
18	207	151	72.94	56	27.05
19	91	72	79.12	19	21.11
20	55	43	78.18	12	21.81
21	117	96	82.05	21	17.94
22	8	6	75%	2	25%
Total	987	749	75.80%	238	24.08%

Appendix, 4B

Overall Gender based Distribution of University Management working in BPS 17 to 22 in two female only university Universities

Basic Pay scale	Total	Male in number	In percentage	Female in numbers	In percentage
17	60	32	53.33	28	46.66
18	25	10	40%	15	60
19	9	4	44.44	5	55.55
20	5	1	20	4	80
21	6	0	0	6	100
22	2	0	0	2	100
Total	107	43	40.18%	64	59.81

Appendix, 4C

Overall Comparison of Gender based Distribution of University Management working in BPS 17 to 22 in six mixed Universities

Basic Pay scale	Total	Male in number	In percentage	Female in numbers	In percentage
17	450	343	76.22%	96	21.33%
18	182	141	77.47%	41	22.52%
19	82	68	82.92%	14	17.07%
20	50	42	84%	8	16%
21	111	96	86.48%	15	13.51%
22	6	6	100	0	0%
Total	881	696	79.00%	174	19.7%

Appendix, 4D

A comparison of Gender based Distribution of University Management working in BPS 17 to 22 in between women only universities and mixed universities

Basic Pay scale17-22	Total	Male in number	In percentage	Female in numbers	In percentage
Women only universities	107	43	40.18%	64	59.81
Mixed universities	881	696	79.00%	174	19.7%

Appendix, 4E. A comparison of Gender based Distribution of University Management working in BPS 17 to 22 in between women only universities and mixed universities

Basic Pay scale17-22	6 Mixed universities	2 Women only universities
Women BPS 22	0	100
Men BPS 22	100	0
Women BPS 21	13.51	100
Men BPS 21	86.48	0
Women BPS 20	16	80
Men BPS 20	84	20
Women BPS 19	17.07	55.55
Men BPS 19	82.92	44.44
Women BPS 18	22.52	60
Men BPS 18	77.47	40
Women BPS 17	21.33	46.6
Men BPS 17	76.22	53.3

Appendix 5A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived familial constraints to their career progression

Familial Constraints		Total Participants	Frequency	Percentage
Gender role stereotypes			30	62.5
	Domestic responsibilities			
a.	House hold chores	48	15	31.25
b.	The bearing and caring of children	26	7	26.92
c.	Elderly care responsibilities	48	5	10.41
Family commitments		48	22	45.83
Women's own choices relating to work and family		48	25	52.08
Women pressured not to work by their family members		48	5	10.41
	The effects of family constraints on women's lives			
a.	Difficulties in career progression	48	10	20.83
b.	Incongruity between work and family	48	7	14.58
c.	Lack of time for socialization and personal care	48	32	66.66

Appendix 6A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived societal constraints to their career progression

Societal Constraints	Total Participants	Frequency	Percentage
Pakistani Society			
The influence of patriarchal societal practices on women's professional career and progression to management positions	48	30	65.5
Stereotypes			
Preconceived idea about appropriate gender specific jobs resulted in occupational segregation	48	28	58.33
The influence of gender specific jobs on women's career progression	48	25	52.08
The influence of stereotypes relating to women's abilities and management style on women's career progression	48	30	62.5
Perceptions of the lack of importance of women developing a professional career	48	22	45.83
Social restrictions on the activities and mobility of women	48	15	31.25

Appendix 7A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived organizational constraints to their career progression

Organizational Constraints	Total Participants	Frequency	Percentage
Recruitment policies for senior management positions	48	30	62.5
The lack of a supportive environment for professional development in universities in the form of organizational anomalies and organizational glitches	48	32	66.66
Subtle ways of discriminating against women	48	34	70.83
Favouritism/Preferential treatment	48	36	75
Challenges to women authority	48	25	52.08
Excessive workload/ long hours and related stress	48	10	20.83
Queen Bee Syndrome	48	35	72.91
Academic associations/ issues of networking	48	30	62.5
Political interference in universities	48	35	72.91

Appendix 8A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived personal constraints to their career progression

Perceived lack of personal and professional attributes	Total Participants	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of self-reliance and self confidence	48	23	47.14
Lack of motivation and ambition to gain a management position	48	33	68.75
Lack of assertiveness in the workplace	48	40	83.33
Unprofessional attitudes in the workplace	48	20	61.66
Lack of awareness of legal rights	48	33	68.75
Poor networking skills	48	29	60.41
Lack of successful public profile	48	28	58.33

Appendix 9A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived social support to their career progression

Facilitator Support	Social Support	Total Participants	Frequency	Percentage
	Parental support	48	44	91.66
	Supportive family members	48	33	68.75
	Supportive husband	26	15	57.69
	Supportive in laws	26	11	42.30
	support from domestic servants	48	17	35.41
	Organizational support	48	10	33.4
	Mentoring	48	11	27.1

Appendix 10A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to perceived Personal qualities and attributes to their career progression

Personal qualities and Attributes	Total Participants	Frequency of responses	Percentage
Self-assurance and self-confidence	48	25	52.86
Courageously coping with difficulties	48	24	50
Being determined to succeed	48	24	50
Being focused on goals	48	15	31.25
being able to multitask	48	22	45.83
having the aptitude for undertaking challenging and leading roles	48	15	31.25
Being transparent and honest as well as competent and capable of holding management positions	48	29	60.41
The educational credentials and professional experience	48	29	60.41

Appendix 11A: The frequency of participants' responses relating to the interface of work-family life and coping: supportive factors and personal coping strategies

Coping Work-life : Supportive factors and personal coping strategies	Total Participant s	Frequency of responses	Percentage
Joint Family system which facilitated work-family life	48	38	62.5
Children considered as an integral part of a complete family life not as an extra burden	26	23	88.4
Marital status and balancing work-life responsibilities (22 unmarried and 2 divorced)	24	11	45.8
Facilities provided by universities	48	15	31.25
Contribution of participants' own abilities	48	28	58.3
Feeling of success and fulfilment making a positive contribution to work-life facilitation	48	25	58